DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 450 058 SO 032 577

AUTHOR	Buchert, Lene, Ed.; Epskamp, Kees, Ed.
TITLE	Open File: New Modalities for Educational Aid.
INSTITUTION	International Bureau of Education, Geneva (Switzerland).
ISSN	ISSN-0033-1538
PUB DATE	2000-00-00
NOTE	132p.; Theme issue.
AVAILABLE FROM	PUB, IBE, P.O. Box 199, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland; E-mail: (j.fox@ibe.unesco.org); Web site: http://www.ibe.unesco.org/International/Publications/Prospects/proshome.htm.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT	Prospects: Quarterly Review of Comparative Education; v30 n4 Dec 2000
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Basic Skills; Childrens Rights; *Comparative Education; Developing Nations; *Educational Change; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; Profiles
IDENTIFIERS	Bangladesh; *Educational Issues; Egypt; Global Economy; Guatemala; India; Japan; Outstanding Teachers

ABSTRACT

This journal focuses on comparative education and has four major sections. The "Viewpoint/Controversy" section contains one article: "Is the Globalization of the Economy Creating Values for a New Civilization?" (Koichiro Matsuura). The "Open File: Rethinking Educational Aid" section contains the following articles: "From Project to Programme to Sector-Wide Support: Some Questions and Concerns" (Lene Buchert); "EC-India Collaboration in Primary Education: Sector-Wide Approaches to Development Co-operation" (Shanti Jagannathan; Mervi Karikorpi); "Sector-Wide Approach to Education: Views from Sida" (Agneta Lind; Christine McNab); "An Assessment of New Modalities in Development Assistance" (Noel F. McGinn); "Sector Support Approach to Financing Basic Education: Lessons from Bangladesh" (Upali Sedere); "Mayan Participation in Educational reform in Guatemala: Changing the Policy Environment" (Linda Asturias; Katherine Grigsby; Theo Oltheten); and "The Sector Approach and Its Implications for Technical Assistance: The Social Fund for Development, Egypt" (Samir T. IsHak; Hussein M. El Gammal). The "Trends/Cases" section contains these articles: "'Different' at School: Discrimination and a Monitoring System to Forestall It" (Angeles Sagastizabal); and "The Rights of the Child and Education in Japan in the Light of the United Nations Convention" (Akiyoshi Kawaguchi). The "Profiles of Famous Educators" section contains this article: "Anisio Teixeira (1900-71)" (Carlos Roberto Cury). (BT)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

Open File: New Modalities for Educational Aid.

Prospects: Quarterly Review of Comparative Education
v30 n4 Dec 2000

Buchert, Lene, Ed.
Epskamp, Kees, Ed.

SO 032 577

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

F. Nacereddine

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

1

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ED 450 058

PROSPECTS

quarterly review of comparative education

NUMBER ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTEEN

116

OPEN FILE

NEW MODALITIES FOR EDUCATIONAL AID

GUEST EDITORS:
LENE BUCHERT
AND KEES EPSKAMP

UNESCO
INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATION

Vol. XXX, no. 4, December 2000

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATION

PROSPECTS

quarterly review of comparative education

This journal is available in the following languages:

ARABIC

مستقبليات

المجلة الفصلية للتربية المقارنة

ISSN: 0254-119-X

CHINESE

教育展望

国际比较教育季刊

ISSN: 0254-8682

ENGLISH

PROSPECTS

quarterly review of comparative education

ISSN: 0033-1538

FRENCH

PERSPECTIVES

revue trimestrielle d'éducation comparée

ISSN: 0304-3045

RUSSIAN

перспективы

ежеквартальный журнал сравнительных исследований в области образования

ISSN: 0207-8953

SPANISH

PERSPECTIVAS

revista trimestral de educación comparada

ISSN: 0304-3053

The annual subscription rates for *Prospects* are printed on the order form at the end of this issue. Subscription requests for the different language editions can be:

- either sent to the national distributor of UNESCO publications in your country;
- or sent to Subscription Service, Jean De Lannoy, Avenue du Roi 202, 1190 Brussels, Belgium (see order form at the end of this issue).

ISSUE NUMBER ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTEEN

PROSPECTS

quarterly review of comparative education
Vol. XXX, no. 4, December 2000

VIEWPOINT/CONTROVERSY

Is the globalization of the economy creating values for a new civilization? *Koïchiro Matsuura* 399

OPEN FILE: RETHINKING EDUCATIONAL AID

From project to programme to sector-wide support: some questions and concerns *Lene Buchert* 405

EC–India collaboration in primary education: sector-wide approaches to development co-operation *Shanti Jagannathan and Mervi Karikorpi* 409

Sector-wide approach to education: views from Sida *Agneta Lind and Christine McNab* 423

An assessment of new modalities in development assistance *Noel F. McGinn* 437

Sector support approach to financing basic education: lessons from Bangladesh *Upali Sedere* 451

Mayan participation in educational reform in Guatemala: changing the policy environment *Linda Asturias, Katherine Grigsby and Theo Oltheten* 461

The sector approach and its implications for technical assistance: the Social Fund for Development, Egypt *Samir T. IsHak and Hussein M. El Gammal* 475

TRENDS/CASES

'Different' at school: discrimination and a monitoring system to forestall it *Ángeles Sagastizabal* 487

The rights of the child and education in Japan in the light of the United Nations Convention *Akiyoshi Kawaguchi* 497

PROFILES OF FAMOUS EDUCATORS

Anísio Teixeira (1900–71) *Carlos Roberto Cury* 509

Index to volume XXX, 2000 521

Authors are responsible for the choice and presentation of the facts contained in this publication and for the opinions expressed therein, which are not necessarily those of UNESCO-IBE and do not commit the Organization. The designations employed and the presentation of the material in *Prospects* do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO-IBE concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

Please address all editorial correspondence to:
Editor, *Prospects*,
International Bureau of Education,
P.O. Box 199,
1211 Geneva 20,
Switzerland.

To find out more about the International Bureau of Education, its programmes, activities and publications, see the IBE's home page on the Internet :
http://www.ibe.unesco.org

All correspondence concerning subscriptions should be addressed to:
Jean De Lannoy, Avenue du Roi 202,
1190 Brussels, Belgium.
E-mail: jean.de.lannoy@infoboard.be
(See order form at the end of this volume.)

Published in 2000 by the
United Nations Educational,
Scientific and Cultural Organization,
7, place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris 07 SP,
France.

Printed by SADAG, Bellegarde, France.

ISSN : 0033-1538

© UNESCO 2000

PROSPECTS
EDITORIAL BOARD

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

Cecilia Braslavsky

MEMBERS

Cesar Birzea

Norberto Bottani

Mark Bray

Antonio Guerra Caraballo

Lawrence D. Carrington

Elie Jouen

Kenneth King

P.T.M. Marope

Mamadou Ndoye

Fernando Reimers

Bikas C. Sanyal

Buddy J. Wentworth

Yassen N. Zassoursky

Muju Zhu

EDITORIAL TEAM

TECHNICAL EDITOR: **John Fox**

ASSISTANT EDITOR: **Nadia Sikorsky**

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT: **Brigitte Deluermoz**

ENGLISH EDITORIAL TEAM:
Graham Grayston, Kerstin Hoffman

FRENCH EDITORIAL TEAM:
Guy-Claude Balmir, Françoise Bouillé, Claudia Querner-Cysne

SPANISH EDITORIAL TEAM:
José-María Dominguez-Luengo

VIEWPOINTS / CONTROVERSIES

IS THE GLOBALIZATION OF THE ECONOMY CREATING VALUES FOR A NEW CIVILIZATION?[1]

Koïchiro Matsuura

The theme of globalization and values is at the heart of UNESCO's concerns, and is of crucial importance at the dawn of this new century.

The inherent possibilities of globalization and the giant strides in science and technology that are being made in parallel with it, the gains that it secures, but also the legitimate questions that it raises as regards its risks, deviations or possible misuse, highlight a concept that is at the very heart of the founding of the United Nations system, and thus of UNESCO—that of universality.

Universality, if it is to have a meaning nowadays, must be perceived as the expression of the commitment by the members of the international community *to work together to build a system* which, over and above politics and the economy, would have ethics as its cornerstone. For ethics, or values, is what constitutes the real challenge of this 'globalization with a human face' which so many of us demand.

Original language: English/French

Koïchiro Matsuura
Since November 1999 Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). After a long career in the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs—Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs from 1992 to 1994—Mr Matsuura became successively Japanese Ambassador to Andorra, then Djibouti, and then France. He was Sherpa for Japan at the G-7 Summit in 1993 and Chairperson of the World Heritage Committee of UNESCO in 1998–99. He studied at the University of Tokyo and Haverford College (United States of America), and received a doctorate *honoris causa* from the Université Jean Moulin, France.

Globalization is first and foremost an economic and financial process. And it is also a scientific and technological process, whose new information and communication technologies, by enmeshing the world in a network of links that are as dense as they are flexible, create a striking image.

But it is also, and above all, a cultural process. This is what places it at the heart of UNESCO's concerns. For globalization is spreading and imposing a new economy and hence a new form of social organization, based on knowledge. How can we ensure that this knowledge, which is circulating everywhere and creating wealth, benefits *everyone*, instead of generating new and extreme forms of exclusion and marginalization? How also can we ensure that in this universe of exchanges of information, knowledge, signs and symbols, everyone is simultaneously a receiver, a sender *and* a producer?

In short, the most profound issue raised by globalization is clearly universality. It is a practical universality that is today, and only today, within our grasp, made up of the sum total of individual contributions, just as light is produced by the fusion of all the colours of the rainbow. For UNESCO, this objective is embodied in a number of priorities, a few of which I will mention, and all of which are designed to create conditions conducive to the emergence of this universal civilization:

1. Education, and in particular basic education for all;
2. The ethics of the information society;
3. The ethics of science and technology;
4. The ethics of the environment;
5. The ethics of intercultural dialogue, which is contingent upon recognition and fuller appreciation of diversity.

Basic education

The first field that I shall address is that of education, and, more specifically, basic education. The importance of education in coping with globalization is too often neglected. Yet it is probably the precondition for the equitable and responsible participation of each one of us in that process.

Basic education denotes the minimum knowledge and skills needed in order to be able to make a full contribution to one's local environment and to be in control of one's life. In an increasingly interdependent world, the contents, and therefore the very notion of the 'quality' of basic education, are evolving. It can no longer be reduced to learning reading, writing and arithmetic. It must also teach individuals to be, to do, to learn, and to live together.

Illiteracy, together with its Western form of 'functional illiteracy', is growing, despite the fact that technological aids should be enabling us to make exclusion and distance things of the past.

UNESCO has therefore placed basic education at the top of its agenda. The recent World Forum on Education for All, which was held in April 2000, reaffirmed the great expectations cherished by the international community regarding it. The Framework for Action that emerged from the meeting entrusted the

Organization with a major task, and confirmed its role as leader in the battle for education for all. The Organization is therefore planning to devote a great deal of its expertise to developing basic education services accessible to all, including the poorest members of society, illiterate adults, marginalized young people and children not enrolled in school, through a strategy which mobilizes both the formal school system and all the alternatives that belong to the non-formal sector. For the right to education is, I must emphasize, a basic human right, and as such it must be available to all without any exception on economic, social, cultural or geographical grounds.

The ethics of the information society

The second field that we cannot fail to mention when we speak of globalization concerns the expansion of information and communication technologies and their dialectical link with globalization. Scientific and technological advances are in fact both the driving force and the effect of that development. They have radically reshaped the ways in which information and knowledge are produced, exchanged, shared and accessed.

But the new international civil society that is emerging through the new communication media has neither a shared history nor a shared vision of the future. Politicians, elected at the national level, are torn between the requirements for local action and an international reality over which they have scarcely any control, and which imposes itself on them. This situation calls for an international debate to which international organizations, and UNESCO in particular, have a contribution to make.

Undoubtedly, the Internet is an especially valuable tool for development and an extremely powerful means of disseminating information relatively cheaply. We are all aware, however, that the Internet benefits primarily those who are already educated and informed, and who can afford access to it. Unfortunately, it plays a key role in widening a gap that is already too large between the 'infopoor' and the 'inforich'. It can in some cases aggravate culture shock and exacerbate economic, social and political conflicts. It is also an instrument which lends itself to reprehensible uses, some of whose undesirable consequences we have already seen.

The international community cannot remain passive when faced with such a phenomenon. It must mobilize so that information in the public domain can be both promoted and protected as the 'global commons'. What we must do at this juncture is lay the groundwork for policy-making and for appropriate management of the global commons in relation to issues of general concern, in order to move towards a form of global governance that will take account of the collective challenges determining the fate of the planet. The new programme that will be launched shortly by UNESCO, 'Information for all', is aimed precisely at shaping a fairer information society, one that will guarantee universal access and the equitable participation of all in this global information society.

The ethics of science and technology

A third field which I think particularly relevant when we seek to perceive what universal values might emerge from the globalization process is that of the ethics of science and technology.

The rapid strides that have been made in science and technology in recent years and the convergence of informatics and the life sciences have resulted in considerable progress in the sphere of genetics and biotechnology. Human life—indeed, the very concept of living matter—is now being cast in a new light by advances in the biosciences and by the development of biomedical and gene technologies.

Here again, UNESCO, by taking the initiative of a Universal Declaration on the Human Genome and Human Rights, has played its role to the full. That Declaration strikes a balance between guaranteeing respect for human rights and allowing the necessary freedom for research. Among the ethical principles that it sets forth, the free exchange of knowledge and scientific information is gaining in importance as the mapping of the human genome progresses. UNESCO's objective is the construction of a shared bioethics, that is of universal principles in bioethics.

The recent statement by French President Jacques Chirac in favour of making the data from the sequencing available to all scientists is in line with this aim. The United States of America and the United Kingdom followed France in coming out clearly in favour of the principles laid down in the Universal Declaration on the Human Genome and Human Rights. Other fields, such as energy, outer space and water, also deserve our attention so that we can lay the foundations of a common universal ethics.

The ethics of the environment

The environment is one area that is greatly endangered by globalization. Scientific and technological advances have too often been exploited with no heed paid to their effects on the environment. UNESCO has played a pioneering role in attempting to change this state of affairs, and notes with satisfaction the dawning of worldwide awareness in this field.

One of the major concerns is drinking water. Water is scarce and very unevenly distributed around the world: nearly a quarter of humanity does not have direct access to drinking water. The uses made of scientific and technological progress have not taken account of this unavoidable fact of life. This failure makes the prospect of a global water crisis a very real one, threatening not only sustainable development but also peace and security. UNESCO is endeavouring to promote a pro-active, integrated and multi-disciplinary approach to the problem of water resources management, combining political, social, scientific and environmental factors.

I have therefore launched a new programme which is to work out a global method for the assessment of water resources and set up ongoing monitoring of

10

trends. It will enlist the participation of twenty-four organizations in the United Nations system and must develop instruments to facilitate the resolution of water-related conflicts.

The ethics of intercultural dialogue

However, the field which is perhaps the most sensitive to the effects of globalization is that of culture. Globalization is undoubtedly a powerful means of bringing people closer together. However, it must not thereby lead to worldwide cultural uniformity or to the hegemony of one or more cultures over all the others. Nor should it encourage fragmentation or a ghetto mentality. On the contrary, it must encourage pluralism with a view to dialogue and mutual enrichment.

This is the direction of UNESCO's action for the conservation of the world's tangible and intangible heritage, and for the promotion of linguistic diversity and multilingual education.

The impact of globalization on trade is by no means without consequences for intercultural dialogue. If there is to be genuine dialogue, there must first be a harmonious and equitable multi-directional flow of cultural goods and services of many different origins. It is not acceptable that most of humanity should be restricted to the mere consumption of imported cultural products. The rules of international trade must allow spaces to be created in which all the planet's inhabitants can create and express themselves through cultural goods and services, make real choices about what they wish to acquire, and do so in conditions of justice and fairness. And, in that regard, the cultures of the countries of the South are of course the most vulnerable. Their specific identity, their symbolic references and the cultural goods available to their citizens are held in the grip of trade and technology.

Cultural diversity means being able to produce and disseminate a wide range of high-quality cultural goods. It also heightens the sense of identity as the source of creativity and living culture.

UNESCO has just launched a large-scale international consultation on that subject. A group of experts will meet, starting in September 2000, to prepare the ground for the full-scale promotion of cultural diversity, particularly now that a new round of international trade negotiations is beginning.

On the same lines, UNESCO is preparing to draw up a convention for the safeguarding of the intangible heritage, comparable to the one which exists already for the tangible heritage and which has proved its usefulness and its especial relevance. The recognition of worldwide cultural diversity, spanning traditions, values and symbolic relations, will not only lead to acknowledgement and better appreciation of the culture of the Other, but will also bring out the history of intercultural contacts, with their mutual borrowings and contributions. This common sense of belonging, albeit pluralistic, will also facilitate action to combat mutual ignorance and misunderstanding, thereby strengthening the fundamental values of democracy, justice and human rights.

Conclusion

In response to the globalization of the economy, the international community must be resolute in promoting universality in the most profound sense of the word: a type of universality which both challenges all models and acknowledges and respects the contribution of all peoples to universal civilization.

UNESCO sees globalization as extending far beyond economic issues. It disrupts life styles and behaviour patterns, and overturns habits of decision-making and governance and forms of artistic expression. The challenge that it poses for UNESCO is that of perceiving all the complexity of its ramifications, so that in an interdisciplinary and intercultural spirit we can devise strategies and policies to ensure that it works for the benefit of all, particularly those who are at present excluded from it.

Note

1. This text has been adapted from a speech made at the closing meeting of the Rencontres de Versailles on the theme of 'Is the globalization of the economy creating values for a new civilization?', held at the Château de Versailles, France, on 17 June 2000.

RETHINKING EDUCATIONAL AID[1]

FROM PROJECT TO PROGRAMME TO SECTOR-WIDE SUPPORT: SOME QUESTIONS AND CONCERNS

Lene Buchert[2]

This Open File includes papers which were originally discussed at the international conference on 'Education innovation in the South: modalities for international support revisited', which was organized by the Netherlands Organisation for Co-operation in Higher Education (NUFFIC) and held in Leiden, Netherlands, from 2 to 4 September 1999. The papers focus on the rhetoric, reality and potential outcomes of recent changes in international support to education, particularly with respect to what has become known as education sector investment programmes, programme support, sector support or the sector-wide approach to education development in the South. These different terms are used variously by international agencies, national governments, and also by the authors in this Open File. Their common characteristic is that they are understood as an alternative and/or a mode supplementary to the project assistance mode which was dominant during the 1970s and 1980s. The terms reflect an understanding that the project mode has failed to ensure holistic, integrated development of education systems and that the new support mode can better remove bottlenecks through co-ordinated efforts horizontally and vertically

Original language: English

Lene Buchert (Denmark)
Ph.D. Senior programme specialist in the Division for the Reconstruction and Development of Education Systems and co-ordinator of the Working Group on Education Sector Analysis led by UNESCO within the framework of the Association for the Development of Education in Africa. She has published widely in the areas of education and development, international aid to education, and aid policies on education. E-mail: l.buchert@unesco.org

in terms of support for all the individual components which are needed to provide quality education at any specific level.

The origin of this new support mode can be associated with initiation of World Bank education sector investment programmes and their underlying principles as expressed by Harrold et al. (1995). These principles are the following: (i) each programme has to be sector-wide in scope; (ii) it has to have a coherent sector policy framework; (iii) local stakeholders have to be in the driver's seat; (iv) all donors must sign up to the programme; (v) common implementation arrangements must be developed; and (vi) minimal long-term financial and technical assistance must be ensured. These principles have now penetrated the thinking of the majority of other financial and technical assistance agencies and are portrayed in the papers in this Open File on EC–India collaboration (Jagannathan and Karikorpi) and on the Swedish International Development Agency (Lind and McNab). This is noteworthy because national governments in the South have always been concerned about the development of the education sector in its entirety. This was so before and during the time when international assistance to education was provided through the project mode. Therefore, while the current criticism that the project mode has led to fragmentation of effort and inefficient use of international aid is voiced by both international agencies and national governments, the fact that it is voiced after extensive project assistance may well have been a factor contributing to the weakening of the national institutional structures and capacities that are preconditions for implementation of the large-scale education sector programmes which are now being advocated.

What is the new modality?

There seems to be a widespread belief that the new modality represents *the* or *the only* solution for overcoming the deficiencies of the previous project assistance mode (King & Buchert, 1999). This is despite the fact that it is generally admitted by advocates of the new modality, as demonstrated also in the papers by Jagannathan and Karikorpi and by Lind and McNab, that no country where all the desired underlying principles have been successfully implemented in a sector programme can yet be identified. Furthermore, many of the principles associated with the approach still have to be worked out by the key parties, for example common implementation procedures, common funding arrangements, coherence among funding and technical assistance agencies in their support for a government programme, inclusion of all stakeholders—particularly civil society organizations and the private sector—in the process, and reliance on local rather than international expertise. Therefore, the new support mode is rather to be understood as an evolving process whose end result we do not yet know and whose initiation demands extensive capacity building by all actors involved in order to ensure coherence of understanding and implementation.

McGinn in his paper questions whether a number of the key terms associated with the new modality, for example partnership, sector support agreements, donor co-ordination and donor coherence, are new concepts and whether they are neces-

sarily in the interest of the national governments. In addition, he outlines possible alternative and more wide-ranging strategies which might better ensure that international aid makes a difference to the teaching and learning in the classroom.

A number of other critical issues related to the new support mode also remain unresolved, for example the risk that the approach represents another standardization or blueprint which fails to take specific national contexts, conditions and timing into consideration. As shown in the paper by Sedere, the introduction of the sector-wide approach in Bangladesh had negative consequences for the development of the primary education sub-sector. Furthermore, it is still unclear how currently well-functioning projects are to survive and become properly integrated into a sector-wide programme, an issue raised in the paper on Guatemala by Asturias and others. Finally, despite the emphasis on inclusion of all actors, the initiation of the sector-wide education programmes tends to reinforce high-level government-agency technical negotiation and expertise at the expense of civil society participation, a critical issue of relevance also to the situation in Guatemala.

Therefore, while referring to an already existing new modality or a new, clearly defined alternative approach to development of the education sector in countries in the South is questionable, it could be safely argued that the current effort to find an alternative support mode has resulted in new emphases on the content of a number of development co-operation dimensions. In particular, the anticipated new support mode is expected to reinforce the following: that governments and agencies work according to objectives, goals and targets stipulated in a government policy programme which is based on a clear vision for development; that there has to be policy dialogue in order to agree on the specific objectives, goals and targets; that there has to be co-ordination of the agencies by the government; that there has to be ownership of the development process and its outcomes by the government; that there has to be accountability to the stakeholders and transparency throughout the process; that the government has to lead and the agencies have to follow on terms agreed upon in negotiation between two equal parties; and that there has to be partnership between government and agencies and, preferably, other civil society institutions, including the private sector. The paper by IsHak and El Gammal highlights the potential scope for innovation in the application of all these dimensions in relation to the Social Development Fund in Egypt.

A new modality—in whose interest and on whose initiative?

Another feature is that moral and ethical considerations form part of these underlying dimensions and that the concept of aid stresses mutual liability rather than charity. However, an understanding of aid as a contractual obligation between two parties that negotiate on the basis of mutual trust and respect may obscure the fact that when disagreements occur between such parties, it is the one with the greater economic, political and expert power that is more likely to have the upper hand. This is particularly relevant in the context of the fully developed education sector pro-

gramme in which international support is provided to national governments as budgetary support. While national budgetary support is advocated by Jagannathan and Karikorpi and by Lind and McNab, Sedere warns against it, as do IsHak and El Gammal. The warnings concern the possibility of infringement of national sovereignty and the risk that international support may replace rather than supplement national funding or that national governments may not act in the interest of the target groups of the programme, namely the poor. In addition, it can be questioned whether dimensions of mutual liability, trust and respect would or should lead to full transparency of both government and agency interests during the negotiation and implementation processes or to full accountability to all stakeholders by both government and agencies. If so, what mechanisms, incentives or sanctions must be put in place for this to occur?

In addition to the questions posed in the papers that follow, a number of others could be asked: Why in the 1990s? Why in reaction mainly to the perceived failure of the previous mode of assistance? Who is driving the introduction of this major reform effort, and what are its preconditions and implications in the national contexts? While answers to some of these questions appear in the papers in the Open File, alternative scenarios remain to be explored, including how major reform efforts have grown naturally out of the development process in specific countries, building on the countries' strengths, and on domestic initiatives and innovation, and responding to the existing institutional and human capacities.

It is hoped that this Open File, which is rich in current thinking and experience on this important topic, will help both to clarify further some of the critical issues and questions and to explore progress made and alternative ideas.

Notes

1. This 'Open File: Rethinking educational aid' has been jointly prepared by Lene Buchert and Kees Epskamp. A biographical note on Lene Buchert appears at the beginning of this article. *Kees Epskamp (Netherlands)*. Ph.D. Currently senior education adviser in the Netherlands Organisation for International Co-operation in Higher Education (NUFFIC), The Hague, where his main field of work is the internationalization of higher education. He has conducted large-scale studies of media-supported education projects and communication for development in Latin America and Africa. E-mail: kepskamp@nuffic.nl
2. I acknowledge with gratitude the contributions made to this brief statement by Ad Boeren, Kees Epskamp, Herb Kells and Noel McGinn. It has been written in a personal capacity and does not necessarily represent the views of UNESCO.

References

Harrold, P., et al. 1995. *The broad sector approach to investment lending: sector investment programs*. Washington, DC, World Bank. (Africa Technical Department Series. World Bank discussion paper, no. 302.)

King, K.; Buchert, L., eds. 1999. *Changing international aid to education: global patterns and national contexts*. Paris, UNESCO/NORRAG.

RETHINKING EDUCATIONAL AID

EC–INDIA COLLABORATION IN PRIMARY EDUCATION: SECTOR-WIDE APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT CO-OPERATION

Shanti Jagannathan and Mervi Karikorpi[1]

Introduction

The European Union (EU) and India have long-standing relations going back more than forty years. During the last decade, a number of concrete efforts have been undertaken to enhance and deepen those relations. The Co-operation Agreement on Partnership and Development concluded in December 1993 (*Official journal of the European Communities*, 1994) emphasized mutual respect for democratic principles and human rights and aimed at bringing various forms of collaboration within a common, more strategic framework. The European Commission's (EC) commu-

Original language: English

Shanti Jagannathan (India)
Development Adviser at the Delegation of the European Commission in India. Her areas of interest include education, training and human rights. She is the author of books on EC–India relations, economic ties between India and the OECD, and the role of NGOs in education in India. E-mail: Shanti.Jagannathan@ind.eudel.com

Mervi Karikorpi (Finland)
An education management specialist with the European Commission, she has headed the European Commission Education Programme Office in India since 1996. Her areas of interest are communal knowledge building and development of organizational frameworks that sustain knowledge-intensive work. E-mail: ecepo@bol.net.in

nication, *EU–India enhanced partnership*, issued in 1996, further reinforced these ties (Commission of the European Communities, 1996).

The Co-operation Agreement renewed the emphasis of development co-operation on poverty eradication and sustainable use of resources. Some of the salient features of the EC's overall policy on development co-operation (Commission of the European Communities, 1992) and a series of subsequent Council Resolutions on a number of development co-operation areas were reflected in the new Co-operation Agreement with India. The Agreement stresses the importance of the efforts and commitment of the partner country, and emphasizes the need for country-specific and programme-based strategies and for a human development dimension in all areas of action.

In the 1990s, there was a perceptible shift in the portfolio of development co-operation between the EC and India that expanded to include social sectors, such as education and health, in addition to agriculture and rural development. Sector reform programmes were recognized as a means of combining policy interventions and objectives of partner countries with the financial resources and human capacity to achieve them within an operational framework that ensures coherence, co-ordination and medium-term commitment from all parties involved. Sector reform programmes set development co-operation objectives in a longer-term perspective.

A new phase in development co-operation between the EC and India began in 1993 with an EC agreement for a sector programme of primary education support in India. The agreement engaged unprecedented funds from the EC for a single programme and was the first-ever sector programme supported by the EC in Asia. The EC and the Government of India (GOI) agreed to collaborate in primary education within the framework of the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP). The agreement outlines EC support for India's policy initiatives to transform primary education. The programme-based approach to collaboration was expected to facilitate a move towards sector-wide reform in primary education.

The EC engagement in sector-wide approaches to basic education in India was spurred by an overall orientation of EC policy and strategy towards sector support programmes. The development of an EC approach to sector programmes in education gained further ground through the EU Horizon 2000 initiative that brought the EC and its Member States together on a common platform to discuss education sector programmes and interventions. In the late 1990s, the EU Education Experts' Working Group that steers this initiative developed a Code of Conduct for education sector funding agencies which is a reference point for the EU and its member countries in education co-operation programmes. The code has been used particularly in African countries.

In the remainder of this paper, we will reflect on the experience gained during the past five years of EC–India collaboration in a primary education sector development programme. The paper reviews the key characteristics of the collaboration, as well as the instruments and means through which EC support to the sector has been channelled. It argues the case for a long-term commitment to sector reform

and development and the need for a pro-active role of the partners, whose partnership is seen as an evolving process. A number of critical areas and challenges are discussed for the next generation of sector reform programmes, including how the EC could build its own institutional capacity for managing development co-operation in this new approach.

The emergence of sector investment programmes

The EC's participation in DPEP is its first engagement in a large-scale development programme in Asia. In this section, we argue that there is an intermediate stage between a project approach and a full-fledged sector reform programme, and that a distinction should be made between a sub-sector development programme and a sector reform programme. The EC's engagement in DPEP is considered more as support for sub-sector development. A full-blown sector reform programme is expected to evolve from a second or third generation of co-operation and financing agreements in the education sector.

In Table 1, the major characteristics of the process of evolution from a project mode to a full-fledged sector reform mode are presented in terms of scope, implementation mechanisms, management, funding and financing patterns, and the role of technical assistance and institutions. In a project approach, the scope of activities and outcomes are predetermined and implementation follows a well-laid plan. A project is confined to a specified geographical area and its impact is therefore inherently limited. It could be designed as an innovative or experimental model that could be tested through the use of external funding and, possibly, replicated in a larger environment based on internal resources.

A sub-sector development programme is based on a policy framework that addresses key problems in that sub-sector. Coverage is relatively wider and an innovative implementation plan lays the foundation for reform and change. Broader goals and objectives are defined and a number of different agencies participate in the programme. Long-lasting impact in the sub-sector is envisaged. External assistance is catalytic in spearheading change.

In a full-blown sector reform mode, sector-wide goals and objectives are stipulated which are linked to inter-sectoral policy reforms, including public financing of social sectors. National administrative and management structures undergo change to implement a sector reform programme. Sector institutions develop leading-edge capacities, and external assistance consolidates national capacity and self-reliance.

It is argued in this paper that sector programmes in education, which are currently being implemented, fall into the second category of sub-sector development. A continued engagement in a sector over a ten to fifteen year period is required in order to move to a full sector reform mode. This process of gradual evolution towards a full-fledged sector reform programme needs to be taken into consideration when building mutual collaboration and partnership, and needs to be reflected in the specific instruments of collaboration selected.

TABLE 1: Key characteristics in the evolution from a project to a sector reform mode

Characteristics	Project approach	Sub-sector development programme	Sector reform programme
Scope and coverage	Specific activities with a well-defined geographical focus.	A programme of action with sub-sector scope and coverage of specific regions.	Sector-wide scope and country-wide coverage with an underlying macro policy and political commitment.
Implementation	Close EC involvement in management through approval of annual work plans and budgets and participation in Steering Committee meetings.	National administration fully in charge of programme management. The collaboration framework provides for mutual sharing of information. External assistance is catalytic.	National administration fully in charge of managing the reform programme. External assistance consolidates national capacity and promotes self-reliance.
Management	A Project Management Unit set up within the partner organization (non-governmental organization or ministry).	Innovative management structures often of a parallel nature, to facilitate reform and change.	Sector management has evolved with broader reform in administrative structures as a whole.
Funding	Quantified physical and financial targets for EC assistance. Funds channelled to specific, agreed components.	Budget support for a sub-sector. EC funds not linked to specified components but an underlying framework determines the deployment of funds. Disbursement linked to progress towards programme goals and objectives.	Budget support for the sector as a whole with priorities for investment. Disbursement is linked to impact and sector reform milestones.
Financing pattern	EC is often the sole financier.	Co-financing is the norm. However, individual agencies follow their own modalities.	Sector financing on a common footing. International funding agencies support national modalities.
Technical assistance	Technical assistance often plays a co-management role.	Technical assistance for general supervision and identified areas. Monitoring and evaluation in a participatory mode.	Technical assistance is catalytic and is firmly based on mutual interest and openness for learning and self-reflection.
Role of institutions	Existing sector institutions lend support for the project.	Organizational change is stimulated and institutional development plans are prepared.	Institutional reform and change take place. A broad base of institutional capacities for ongoing sector development is created.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

EU–India partnership for educational and social development: the DPEP experience

SHIFT FROM SHORT-TERM TARGETS TO MEDIUM- AND LONG-TERM GOALS

DPEP encompasses a sub-sector approach to improving primary education in selected educationally backward districts of the country. It brings under the same umbrella—the GOI—fifteen state governments (currently covering more than 60% of the primary schools in the country), and a number of international funding and technical assistance agencies. All the partners concerned have agreed to collaborate within a common framework which the GOI has presented in the form of the DPEP guidelines (Department of Education, 1995).

The EC–GOI agreement for DPEP builds on the GOI's commitment to improve primary education as stated in the National Policy of Education in 1986 and the 1992 Plan of Action (India, Department of Education, 1986, 1992*a*), as well as by the parameters formulated in 1991 by the Central Board on Education (CABE), a high-level policy-framing body for external assistance (Department of Education, 1992*b*). CABE emphasized that external funding should be additional to domestic resources for education and that externally aided projects need to be in total conformity with national policies, strategies and programmes. The long-term goals for EC support have been set with reference to Universalization of Elementary Education (UEE), and improvement of the effectiveness and efficiency of the education system. Decentralization and district-based planning and implementation are perceived as key strategies. It is now widely accepted that investment in education contributes to broader social change, and women's empowerment plays a major role in this endeavour. Improving girls' education is a key objective of DPEP. The agreement also highlights the need for investment in human resource development and strengthening institutional capacity to respond to new challenges in education.

The GOI, which is fully in charge of the management of the national programme, is the EC's key partner in the programme. It stipulates the goals and objectives for primary education. The EC is supporting DPEP through allocation of funding as budgetary support to the primary education sub-sector. Its financial investment in DPEP amounts to 150 million euros. More than 95% of the allocated funds are to be disbursed directly to the GOI within a flexible framework which enables the GOI to deploy the funds according to the DPEP's development priorities. The EC's financial support has so far been deployed for the implementation of DPEP in Madhya Pradesh. The disbursement of the funds is planned in four instalments over a seven-year period. Each tranche is linked to progress towards the ultimate goals and objectives through intermediate milestones.

The EC and the GOI have agreed on a number of modalities that aim at ensuring the financial sustainability of the new initiatives in education. A minimum of 15% of overall programme expenditures is to be covered from the state governments' own resources. International funding has financed, for the first time on such

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

a large scale, major development activities in primary education. External agencies have stipulated that support to recurrent costs, particularly salaries, would be on a declining basis, so as to ensure sustainable development. Support from international funding agencies has also leveraged additional resources to DPEP from the state and central governments, as well as through direct community contribution. At the macro level, the GOI has committed itself to maintaining the expenditures on elementary education in real terms, at least at the level of programme start-up, and to treating investment in DPEP as an additional resource rather than as a substitute for government funding.

CO-ORDINATION AND INFORMATION-SHARING

The international funding agencies and the GOI act in concert in a unique process of joint biannual supervision and review missions where a multi-disciplinary team of twenty-five to thirty professionals assess progress towards programme objectives, highlighting areas for priority attention and remedial actions in the next half-year period. The independent technical team consists of nominees of the GOI and the international funding and technical assistance agencies. This arrangement has its own strengths and weaknesses.

The main strength of the joint supervision modality is that it provides the EC with information about progress across all DPEP states and serves as a platform for sharing views and experiences with a cross-section of partners. This is essential for the EC in view of the programme-based approach to collaboration. On the other hand, this joint effort also implies a compromise by each participating agency in terms of the focus of the missions. Moreover, the very nature of the missions does not allow an in-depth analysis of the issues and constraints; rather, the missions rely on studies undertaken by others. There have recently been discussions to make the joint review missions more consultative and peer-review-oriented. Similarly, during the assessment of progress at the state level, questions have been raised about how the performance of international funding agencies and the GOI can also be reviewed, and what would be a suitable forum for doing so.

The availability and use of good-quality information on the programme is a key prerequisite in the management of a sector programme partnership. Information is required for enlarging the knowledge base of issues relevant to the reform programme, to ensure accountability and adherence to agreed commitments, and to improve the impact and efficiency of the interventions. Collaboration within DPEP has, without doubt, produced a vast amount of information and contributed to our understanding and knowledge of a variety of issues related to primary education in the country. Some of the issues relating to information management are as follows:

- The is a tendency at all levels—from the international agency level to the school level—to collect and use data mainly for reporting purposes, and less for self-reflection and improvement.
- Reporting is seen as important for people who are higher up in the hierarchy, which makes data and information generation a burden for those who are

closer to the implementation level and who do not see it as directly beneficial. The challenge for the coming years is to develop both vertical and horizontal feedback mechanisms which allow scope for sharing and exchanges among all the stakeholders concerned.

- In an evolving programme and partnership, the indicators for measuring progress and impact also need to change over time. Indicators of a successful partnership between the government and international funding agencies should also be developed.
- The sharing of information among agencies usually does not have a clear goal and purpose. Information management with a clearly specified end-use would be important.

WORKING FOR ENHANCED MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE EU AND INDIA

The flexibility of the EC investment framework for DPEP, with particular reference to the practice of advance payments that are linked to process and impact indicators rather than inputs or activities, reflects the trust in the partnership and the risk-taking ability of the partners. These are essential pillars for social sector reform, dealing not only with technical and administrative improvement, but also attitudinal and behavioural changes that require time to manifest themselves. However, the GOI–EC agreement and the DPEP guidelines do not elaborate on, or give very clear indications of the partners' views on, how partnership and mutual understanding could be enhanced over time or how partnership could be seen as an opportunity for mutual learning.

There is dialogue between the EC and the GOI through meetings of the Joint Commission and the Sub-Commission on Development Cooperation. Sector-specific official dialogue has, however, not been built up. A dialogue forum around social sector issues (since the EC is funding both the education and health sectors), as well as a specific forum on education to reflect on lessons learnt and experiences until now, is becoming increasingly important as the programme moves into its sixth year of implementation.

The EC interacts regularly with EU Member State representatives in India at the Development Counsellor level to review development co-operation in general. The EC and Member State representatives dealing with education initiatives also meet regularly. This kind of collaboration has been very positive.

Future perspectives for sector investment programmes

LONG-TERM COMMITMENT

We have argued that there is a process of evolution from the project approach to the sector reform programme approach. The intermediate stage of a programme approach paves the way for preparation of a full-fledged sector reform. DPEP in

India is operating at the intermediate, sub-sector development stage, which will hopefully be the foundation for the preparation of a sector reform programme in elementary education and, eventually, in the education sector as a whole. Although the implementation of DPEP has catalysed positive change in the primary education sector across the states, it still does not address problems of primary education in the entire country, nor does it yet address issues of the entire elementary education cycle.

The concept and the nature of a sector reform programme grow with evolution and maturity in the partnership between development partners and the national administration. To address sector-wide issues in the broadest sense, a long-term commitment of fifteen to twenty years is required from the partners concerned. While implementation and funding agreements could be for cycles of five years at a time, the approach to the sector over a longer period is essential. It is quite usual for sector reform to begin with a sub-sector approach, which could lead to a more profound understanding of and approach to sector-wide issues. Also, in order to address the sector as a whole, partnerships need to go beyond the government. The government is best placed to catalyse the reform process, whereas at a more mature stage other sectors need to participate as well. While external assistance may not be required or be appropriate across the whole sector, there needs to be dialogue and debate to understand intra-sectoral linkages.

INTER-SECTORAL REFORMS

A successful long-term education sector reform programme would also require supportive systemic reform in other areas. For enduring improvement in the management and delivery of educational services, there may also be a need for a broader reform in the civil service, decentralized management structures and devolution, and the participation of local, elected bodies. Reform of budgetary processes that encompass financial allocations to social sectors as a whole should also be an important consideration. Sector development programmes too often seek additional funds from the government for that sector—education or health, for instance—without a broader analysis of public finance policy. This could lead to a 'rob Peter to pay Paul' syndrome, or re-allocations across sectors without long-term solutions. Reform in budgetary allocations to education should envisage a planned decline in the share of salaries in total budgets, with ongoing budgets available for innovations and quality.[2] Enhanced financial powers need to be devolved to decentralized bodies.

Sector reform programmes supported by international funding agencies often bring in significantly large, additional financial resources. In the drive to deploy resources as per disbursement schedules, not much attention or time is given to developing cost-effective methods of deploying funds, and encouraging different approaches to leveraging funds from the communities and/or the private sector. The international funding agencies also need to develop innovative approaches to channel resources to sector programmes. While in the first flush of a sector development programme, international funding agencies could stipulate the appropriate use of

funds and their deployment, in the long term such support should move away from a disbursement-driven regime, with the pattern and pace of funding determined by programme requirements. The processes of annual planning and budgeting need to become evolutionary and take into account the process of change and development. Long-term rolling plans and objectives-based budgets should be encouraged rather than norms-based and ceiling-based budgeting. This would better ensure that educational interventions reach the most needy and would increase the capacity to deploy the bulk of the resources for the most serious problems. To move beyond a sub-sector programme to full-fledged sector reform, key changes in administrative and management structures would be required. For instance, DPEP could run the risk of creating a large island or a peninsula with parallel structures unless the regular education administration absorbs the main features of the programme in the long run.

PLURALITY OF PARTNERSHIPS

In many countries the deadline for the goal to achieve universal primary education has been inexorably slipping back. It has become obvious that the government needs to actively build new partnerships to achieve this goal. The non-governmental sector or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) would be an obvious choice. In many countries, NGOs have played pioneering and innovative roles in addressing problems related to basic education. But rarely have there been equal partnerships between the government and the NGO sector. In most cases, NGOs perform subsidiary roles or sub-contracted activities, mostly determined by the government. Independent NGO action tends to remain small and focused, without large-scale application. In India, there have been instances of a few NGOs acquiring a larger strategic role, with the government recognizing the effectiveness of their models. Attempts were made to collaborate with NGOs in order to find solutions to difficult problems, or to work with deprived and disadvantaged communities.

NGOs can perform two strategic roles: on the one hand, their micro experiences and experiments can inform larger macro policy; and on the other hand, they can help the government to mainstream their small-scale innovations into the larger educational scenario. In implementing large sector development programmes, the continuous need to innovate and experiment at the micro level should not be neglected. Sufficient resources and opportunities must be provided for continuous piloting and innovation. It is in this spirit that the EC funded a project with the Aga Khan Foundation that brings together ten to twelve NGOs to mainstream their activities within the larger education system and to provide a platform for joint alternative advocacy. Appropriate support to nurturing alternative approaches to tackle key constraints in education and a supportive environment for NGOs and civil society actions to flourish are extremely important and should be recognized by international funding agencies that are used to collaborating primarily with the governments.

NGOs are traditionally known for their effective, small-scale, localized, action-experimental models and their intensive work with communities. While acknowledging the central role of the government in provision of education, it is time to consider

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

an emerging role for NGOs as resource and support agencies that can contribute to wider sector objectives and enter into strategic partnerships with the government to mainstream innovative approaches. As education sector development matures, partnerships with the private sector should also be actively explored.

CONSULTATIVE PROCESSES

Linked to the above is the need to facilitate the creation of dialogue spaces for greater democratic debate and consultations whereby the government can deliberate on and discuss elementary education issues with interest groups within and outside the government. Often, sector development programmes tend to be the exclusive preserve of an elite group of government officials, international funding agency representatives and foreign and national experts.

As one progresses along the path of sector reform in education, this type of small coterie should be opened up to other stakeholders. Although the early stages of sector reform require much emphasis on community participation and beneficiary consultation, there is rarely the time and scope for wider debates with a cross-section of intellectuals and thinkers that attract a healthy critique of the programme. Information and communication on sector programmes have largely tended to be designed to satisfy the needs of international funding and technical assistance agencies, mostly producing more information than can be used effectively. In an ongoing commitment to sector reform, it is important to ensure greater transparency in decision-making, and an open information policy whereby the common citizen can also express views on the development of such an important sector as education, and where there is room for independent evaluation.

INSTITUTIONAL REFORM

Institutional strengthening has become a catchphrase in sector development. However, this is an area that has more rhetoric than reality. It has been easier to create new structures and institutions than to reform and improve existing ones. There is abundant evidence of parallel structures, set up to implement fast-paced reform programmes that bypass existing and arduous administrative structures. While, in the short run, these help to kick-start a reform programme, their long-term implications are rarely examined.[3] In a subsequent phase of the reform programme, an attempt must be made to forcibly integrate new structures with old, unchanged ones which cause problems of quality dilution and mismatch of competencies. A programme of education reform should also set milestones for organizational and structural change.

The challenges to institutional reform are many. How can a realistic and sensible plan for institutional reform and institution building be prepared? How can milestones for institution building that incorporate institutions outside the government be set and followed? What could be the norms for ensuring adequate resources and financial commitments for institutional change? It is quite clear that

international funding and technical assistance agencies by themselves cannot and should not orchestrate institution building. The impetus has to be largely built up nationally.

The role and nature of technical assistance is also closely linked to institutional development. Technical assistance is usually provided mainly through independent consultants, national and expatriate. Although greater flexibility to recruit consultants for technical support is developed, technical resource institutions do not flourish. It is well known that such a regime of consultancy unduly skews the rewards and incentives for technical support in favour of individual consultants to the detriment of institutional growth. Also, this is an area that cannot necessarily be addressed in the first round of reform. The EC also learnt this, as the capacity-building component designed to promote institutional linkages between India and Europe could not develop fruitfully into an operational programme despite good will on both sides.

CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT FOR SECTOR PROGRAMMES

External agencies that make a long-term commitment to an education sector reform programme must develop appropriate processes and instruments. There must be recognition and articulation of each agency's particular comparative advantage for participation, and the group of international funding agencies must make special efforts to build complementarity among themselves. Competition among agencies to finance reform programmes is not unknown. In-house technical and managerial capacity to participate in a sector reform programme needs to be built up.

The national administration implementing the programme would benefit from its own multi-disciplinary task force to establish an effective dialogue with international funding agencies on policy and implementation matters. There should be a separation of executive roles from technical roles and consultancy. Administrative and executive exigencies mostly overrule technical considerations and even a high-profile technical resource group does not, at times, have sufficient powers to prevail on the government. Approaches to balance out the administrative and technical imperatives need to be developed. This is true for international funding agencies as well. In the first phase of sector reform, the central government usually has greater control of directing the reform programme. As decentralization takes root, state and provincial governments need to build capacities to play a leading role. In attempting to make sector reform programmes successful, there must be creation of appropriate incentives and motivation plans for both administrators and practitioners to improve performance.

Drawing lessons from across regions and countries is very important. Regional groupings are particularly likely to be useful in generating self-learning opportunities. International funding agencies supporting programmes in several countries of the region must make attempts to share experiences and to undertake research and analysis on strategic cross-cutting themes. Peer evaluations of education sector development programmes in different countries will enhance national capacity creation.

The EU as a learning organization

In order to be an effective partner over the long horizon of a sector reform programme, an international funding agency needs to develop processes and instruments that enable it to be a learning organization. This is particularly important if co-operation in a partnership mode is taken seriously, and if the agency has aspirations to acquire importance that goes beyond a financing programme.

DIALOGUE AND INTERCHANGE AT ALL LEVELS

Official dialogue between the EU and India takes place mainly through the Joint Commission and Sub-Commission on Development Co-operation meetings, which tend to be fairly broad-based and general in their discussions. While engaging itself in an education sector programme that is now moving towards its second phase of investment, the EU needs to build platforms for discussions on education-specific issues. At least once a year, there should be a policy-level discussion between the EU and the national administration on the policy and implementation aspects of the sector programme. The dialogue should be expanded to include interest groups outside the government, whereby academia, professional groups, institutions and civil society from India and the EU could interact and exchange views. These would provide continuous feedback on educational issues to the EC, allowing it to refine and improve the modalities of its co-operation.

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATIVE AND TECHNICAL CAPACITY

EC in-house capacity, both managerial and technical, is rather tight, leading to much reliance on short-term external consultants. This constrains the process of self-learning and adaptation, the ability to develop and implement a strategic approach to supporting the education sector, and to build up an in-house store of knowledge and analysis that informs and influences future policy. The administrative barriers to creating internal capacity could be surmounted if the EC is serious about partnerships in sector reform programmes. Recent policy pronouncements strongly endorse the sector reform approach and a move away from small-scale projects. There ought, therefore, to be a concomitant redeployment of staff and human resources to build sectoral expertise. Processes of regular internal reflection and management of information from programmes need to be pursued.

GLOBAL EXCHANGES IN EDUCATION

The EC is now funding education programmes in many countries and in a variety of settings. However, there have been few systematic efforts to share and exchange information and experiences regarding those programmes. There have also been practically no cross-cutting evaluations or comparative studies of the support to

education. In South Asia, the EC is funding education sector development programmes in India and Nepal, and the Social Action Programme in Pakistan, and has been supporting NGOs in the education sector in Bangladesh. There is immense scope for developing a regional perspective and for ensuring appropriate sharing and exchanges between countries and regions.

RESEARCH LINKED TO EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT

Linkages between the mainstream research programme of the EC and its development co-operation programmes, particularly in education, need to be built. While research studies are supported through DPEP, there is much merit in linking independent research through other Directorates General in the EU. Linkages across programmes and projects funded by the EU also need to be encouraged on a pro-active basis.

Given that the central plank of the EU's development co-operation is poverty alleviation, there should be an ongoing programme of research and analysis to examine the inter-relationships between education and other sectors. The social capital approach to poverty and the impact of education on the development process should be analysed through field-oriented, empirical studies and analysis. Such cross-sectoral and inter-disciplinary research work would enable the EC to better understand the development linkages. For instance, there is the example of Kerala, which has excellent social indicators but low economic growth, and Haryana, which has the reverse—low social indicators but high economic growth. Co-opting research institutions and university departments in action research projects would also reduce the burden on practitioners and administrators in meeting information and reporting requirements.

COMPLEMENTARITY OF ACTIONS

An effective way to be a learning organization is to continuously lend support to innovations, experiments and new ventures that may at times be risky but allow new directions and approaches to emerge. While supporting a large sector reform programme, supportive grant assistance to smaller projects that have an affinity to the large programme and that could impact on the larger canvas ought to be actively pursued. The support to the Aga Khan project is indeed a very valuable tool. Similar types of projects could be fashioned around or within the main sector reform programme as complementary activities. Support to NGOs is an obvious area. There could also be programmes with academic institutions, the media, people's organizations, and even strategic co-operation with the private sector that could give rise to a new mode for building partnerships based on mutual interest.

Summing up

In summary, EC experience of supporting primary education through DPEP has been a very positive step towards enhancing the level of development co-operation between the EU and India. The strong orientation towards social sectors is a trend

that has added value to EC development co-operation. It is also clear that the programme-based approach to sector reform is here to stay, and has been reiterated by the new EC Commissioner for External Relations.

The education sector, primary education in particular, has a very high intrinsic social value for external support. It can be assumed that EC participation in this sector will grow. While collaboration through DPEP has just begun to address subsectoral issues, the expectation is that, in the near future, an approach to the elementary education sector as a whole would herald a sector-wide approach to improving education in India. Such a process should also witness a further evolution in the kind of co-operation modalities and instruments that may be used in the future. The EU's partnership with India in the education sector could also become more broad-based, to include partners other than the government.

Notes

1. The views expressed are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the European Commission.
2. In India, more than 95% of the education budget goes towards salaries.
3. The State Societies for Education and Health in India are a case in point. The formation of state and district societies facilitates the flow of funds and provides flexibility for explorative and innovative work. But these also create parallel structures for DPEP states and districts.

References

Commission of the European Communities. 1992. *Development cooperation policy in the run up to 2000. Communication from the Commission to the Council and Parliament.* Brussels, 16 September. (SEC (92) 915 final/2.)

——. 1996. *EU–India enhanced partnership. Communication from the Commission.* Brussels, 26 June. (COM (96) 275 final.)

Co-operation Agreement between the European Community and the Republic of India on Partnership and Development. 1994. *Official journal of the European Communities* (Brussels), no. L223/4 of 27 August.

India. Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development. 1986. *National policy of education.* New Delhi.

——. 1992*a*. *Plan of action.* New Delhi.

——. 1992*b*. *Report of the CABE Committee on Policy.* New Delhi.

——. 1995 (rev. 1997). *District primary education program guidelines.* New Delhi.

RETHINKING EDUCATIONAL AID

SECTOR-WIDE APPROACH TO EDUCATION: VIEWS FROM SIDA

Agneta Lind and Christine McNab

Introduction

This paper outlines and reflects on the policies and experiences of the Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency (Sida) as regards sector programme support or sector-wide approaches to education. It addresses these issues in general terms from the perspective of the Sida Education Division and illustrates them by the case of the United Republic of Tanzania. The first part of the paper outlines the background to and implications of the move from project to sector programme support in Sida. The second part, which has been written from the perspective of the Embassy of Sweden in Dar es Salaam, examines the specific complexities of changing from multi-donor, project-dominated support to an integrated sector-wide approach to education in which the principles of partnership occupy centre stage.

Original language: English

Agneta Lind (Sweden)
Ph.D. Head of the Education Division of the Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency. She is a well-known international expert on adult literacy in developing countries and has written several action-oriented research studies on the topic. E-mail: agneta.lind@sida.se

Christine McNab (Sweden)
Ph.D. Head of the Development Co-operation Division at the Swedish Embassy in Dar es Salaam since 1997. As a staff member of Sida's Education Division, she has worked on issues of education in the United Republic of Tanzania since 1990. E-mail: christine.mcnab@sida.se

Background

Basic education for all, and other education and training opportunities, are considered to be essential for the enhancement of the overall objectives of Swedish development co-operation, which aims at raising the quality of life of poor people. The Swedish Parliament has stipulated six mutually complementary and reinforcing objectives: (i) economic growth; (ii) economic and social equality; (iii) economic and political independence; (iv) democratic development; (v) sustainable use of natural resources; and (vi) equal rights for women and men. Recent Swedish aid policies attempt to respond to global changes and lessons learnt from earlier decades of development co-operation, and a holistic, rather than an individual project, approach now governs Sida's development co-operation efforts. This is reflected in the increased emphasis on the need to integrate or mainstream democracy, human rights and gender equality perspectives and environmental aspects in all Swedish development co-operation agreements (Ministry of Foreign Affairs/Sida, 1997).

In accordance with international trends, partnership is another important concept in recent Swedish policies. It stresses reciprocity as a means to transform the traditional donor–recipient relationship and aid dependency situation. As pointed out by Mats Karlsson, former Under-Secretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'this reciprocity must be based on the gradual emergence of a culture of democracy in partner countries' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs/Sida, 1997, p. 3).

In its education sector co-operation programmes Sida has given priority since the 1970s to basic education, which is considered a human right and a vehicle for poverty reduction. The objectives and strategies for basic education were outlined by Sida's Education Division in its policy paper (Sida, 1996), which reflects a commitment to support governments in the implementation of the World Declaration on Education for All. The main objective is to improve the quality of and access to basic education for children, youth and adults at the primary and junior secondary school levels, as well as in adult literacy and post-literacy programmes. The common areas of Swedish support are textbooks and materials, teacher training, school-building and equipment, and management and planning.

During the 1970s and 1980s, a sector support modality covered a number of well-defined and earmarked components or projects in a three- to five-year agreement with ministries of education in many of Sida's partner countries. Each sector support 'package' was assessed from the perspective of the full education sector and of each component and with a view to avoiding overlap with other agencies. This approach was considered to be effective in meeting the needs of the co-operating partner countries. During the 1990s, the need to replace this kind of 'sector support' by a more holistic sector programme support has been increasingly stressed. This is because of various sector and macro-economic factors, including economic crisis, debt problems, structural adjustment and the dramatic increase in the number of agencies which have given priority to basic education, especially after the Jomtien Conference on Education for All in 1990. As a result, national ownership and the capacities of

ministries of education have become seriously eroded. Furthermore, supply-driven and unco-ordinated project assistance by multiple funding and technical assistance agencies has led to wasteful duplication of efforts and fragmentation of the education and other sectors.

In its concern to improve the effectiveness of development co-operation, Sida adopted a Sector Programme Support (SPS) policy in September 1995 (Sida Decision GD 75/95, 1995–09–19). The policy marked a shift in concept, underlining a sector-wide approach, but has not had much effect on implementation partly because of the macro-economic pre conditions required for its application. As a result of evolving experiences with sector programmes and of instructions from the Swedish Government during the last three years to increase efforts towards SPS, Sida has developed a revised SPS policy (Sida Decision GD 16/00, 2000–02–07).

Sida's policy on sector-wide approaches (SWAPs)

Sida's revised SPS policy implies working towards stronger recipient government commitment and ownership and better harmonization of agency contributions. The policy principles are in accordance with those endorsed by other development agencies and those outlined in Cassels' (1997) work on the health sector, as well as with the Code of Conduct for education sector development programmes (ESDP) recommended by the European Union (EU) Horizon 2000 education expert group.

Sida shares the view that partnership implies leadership of the development process by national authorities and that common objectives among key partners, rather than setting pre conditions, are critical for improving sector policy and performance. The implications for agencies of shifting to a sector-wide approach have been appropriately expressed by Cassels (1997, p. x):

> The most fundamental change is that donors will give up the right to select which project to finance, in exchange for having a voice in the process of developing sectoral strategy and allocating resources. [. . .] Becoming a recognised stakeholder in negotiating how resources are spent replaces project planning, and joint reviews of sectoral performance replace evaluation of discrete projects.
>
> Defining SWAPs in terms of intent rather than eligibility does not preclude donors from identifying the steps needed to overcome key constraints to effective sectoral performance. Necessary actions will form part of the agreed programme of work, rather than being imposed as unilateral conditionalities.

These principles reflect the belief in partnership, flexibility and a holistic process approach. According to the Sida SPS policy, 'Sida shall be prepared to allocate untied resources to the national state budget for the sector programme when there is joint partner satisfaction with financial management arrangements at the national budget level, and when other significant donors are prepared to do likewise' (Sida Decision GD 16/00, 2000–02–07, p. 3). Sida recognizes that other modalities to

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

support the process of sector programme preparation and pooling funding for earmarked or non-earmarked programme components may be necessary before sector budget support can be provided, in particular strengthening of management capacity to ensure accountability and transparency of the state financial management system.

The process of implementing the SPS policy

A number of core issues are often raised in discussions concerning SPS, such as whether funding will be spent in fulfilment of the objectives of the sector policy and strategy; whether funding would be mismanaged for lack of a project account; whether the goals of poverty reduction, gender equality, human rights and others would be enhanced; the likely impact on the use of (Swedish) consultants and institutions; and how to show the results of the funding to the public.

The new Sida guidelines respond to these concerns. Before joining the process of preparing and appraising sector programme support, an assessment must be made by the Swedish embassy concerned of the macro-economic conditions, the socio-economic and political environment, the risk of corruption, and the functioning of public administration and management, especially regarding budget and procurement processes. Sida considers the corruption risk to be better averted in SWAP than in traditional project support because the accountability and transparency of the government system are assessed, monitored and audited as part of the process. In contrast to projects, fungibility of funds is explicitly addressed by monitoring sector performance indicators against set objectives rather than against specific activities. Funding aims at assisting overall sector progress, which is what must be reported to the public.

Major cross-cutting goals, such as poverty reduction and gender equality, should be subject to joint analysis and dialogue among the major partners at appropriate stages of the programme cycle, appraisal, and monitoring and evaluation. Since the concept of partnership involves shared values and goals, as expressed for example in international human rights conventions and other relevant declarations, international partners should, in the process of dialogue on sector policies and strategies, seek to influence the way resources are allocated in realizing the rights of the poor, girls and women, and marginalized groups.[1]

Sida has been involved in the process of preparing SPS for education in Ethiopia, Mozambique, Namibia, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zimbabwe. In Bolivia, Sweden and the Netherlands have formed an effective joint partnership and are pooling funds through the World Bank into a sector-wide approach to education reform. This has been a valuable learning experience, as was Sida's involvement in joint agency funding and monitoring of primary education in Bangladesh between 1990 and 1995. However, owing to the long and complex processes of joint preparation, little experience has been gained so far with respect to implementing SPS as non-earmarked budget support to an ESDP except for the steps that have been taken, especially regarding donor co-ordination.[2]

Implications for Sida's education policy

Sida's Education Division will revise its policy in the light of the shift to SPS and other policy developments, such as the emphasis on the human rights perspective. While basic education will remain the priority, it will no longer receive earmarked funding but will instead have priority in the resource allocation for the sector programme. SWAP is considered beneficial to the improvement of basic education because it relies on the functioning of the whole system as reflected, for example, in the need for secondary and higher education to train teachers and other education staff who work at the basic education level.

Another benefit is that a balanced investment in the whole sector can be ensured according to national priorities and needs rather than according to agencies' preferred areas of intervention. For example, during the development of the expenditure and finance plan for the education sector programme in Mozambique, it was discovered that teacher training was over-financed while other necessary budget items were under-financed.

An ESDP is a necessary framework for dialogue and SPS aimed at improving the education and learning opportunities for all. It must be based on a national education policy, a medium-term expenditure framework and a detailed budget for the first year. Joint reviews of sector performance measured against jointly agreed milestones and targets provide the main instrument for adjustment of plans and budgets. The scope of the programmes may vary from country to country, partly owing to the division of responsibility between different ministries, the structure of state budgets, and the existence of an appropriate institutional structure and financing programme as reflected in the state budget. In some countries it may include the whole education sector, in others higher education and vocational and technical education may be excluded, while in yet others formal basic education may be the sole focus.

Implications for use of technical assistance financed by Sweden

The move to education sector programme support represents new challenges for agency staff and consultants. It implies the need for enhanced skills in holistic or macro analysis of education systems, reforms, management of education and other public administration systems, financial management, budget-related planning processes, cost and financing issues as well as monitoring and reporting. Analytical capacities are needed in order to shape processes rather than design programmes of activities. Facilitation and communication skills are likely to become as important as, if not more important than, technical design skills, partly because of the complex processes of negotiation with numerous partners. While experience has shown that consultants cannot replace official Sida representation in these tasks, it is crucial that Sida staff receive training in negotiation and assessment and that

consultants adapt to the orientation towards processes rather than pursue the project mode.

Capacity building will continue to be an essential part of development co-operation in SWAP. However, support must be provided in partnership with the host governments and other agencies, and without self-interest. Institutional co-operation could be arranged through selection by the host ministry from among proposals from different countries. Capacity building might be needed for such bidding or selection processes in order to ensure ownership and demand- (rather than supply-) driven institution-building processes.

Ownership and openness to all forms of technical assistance (TA) would best be secured if all partners (agencies, national authorities and stakeholders) could agree on joint funding, selection and contracting mechanisms. If not, a clear division of responsibility and effective co-ordination are needed in order to avoid duplication and conflicting TA influences. The EU Code of Conduct seems to be a valid starting point in the implementation of an education sector programme, implying fewer agency-driven TA initiatives, more short-term rather than long-term consultants, and more reliance on national or regional capacity and competence. In combination with increased agency co-ordination of the supply of TA, fewer Swedish consultants may be used unless they are internationally competitive.

View from the United Republic of Tanzania

Education in the United Republic of Tanzania has been in decline during the last two decades. Basic education, once that country's flagship, has become a low-quality, low-enrolment institution, with parents seriously questioning the value of sending their children to school. According to various sources, net enrolment in primary school education is currently estimated at around 57%, and in secondary school education at 5%—the lowest in Africa—and very few (only about 0.3% of the age group) continue to the tertiary level (see, for example, United Republic of Tanzania, 1999). Despite a large number of agency-funded projects, some national and some district-based, the schools have low-quality infrastructure, serious shortages of furniture and educational materials, many under-qualified teachers, and salaries which encourage teachers to pursue second jobs, including private tuition, at the expense of their classroom work.

The decline of the sector is largely a reflection of the country's wider problems, both economic and structural. While the government has been pro-active in macro-financial management and has made good progress in balancing the budget, servicing debts, taking responsibility for the medium-term economic framework and reducing inflation to below 10%, other problems have a direct negative effect on education. These include corruption, which continues to be a drain on resources, debt servicing which absorbs about 30% of the government budget, consistently high spending on military and security forces, and a process of civil service reform which has not yet resulted in increased salaries for the seriously under-paid professional staff, including teachers. The cash-management system for the national bud-

get is particularly difficult for sectors such as education, which have a high level of recurrent costs and therefore difficulties in allocating money to non-salary expenditures when total disbursements from the Treasury are uncertain.

Structural problems are also an obstacle to education management, reform and expansion. Management of education in the United Republic of Tanzania is a multi-ministry, multi-level affair that impedes change and wastes resources, both material and human. The Ministry of Education and Culture has a clear mandate for overall policy, including the curriculum, and for the management of secondary education. Responsibility for providing primary education, however, rests with the Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government together with the district and municipal authorities. Higher education has its own ministry, and vocational education comes under the Ministry of Labour and Youth Development. Some education programmes, such as the Folk Development Colleges, are managed by the Ministry for Community Development, Women's Affairs and Children. Zanzibar has its own Ministry of Education. Not surprisingly, the sector is characterized by weak and inconsistent leadership on the government side, and fragmented, project-style support on the agency side. Both sides are hampered by lack of sound, statistical data on which to base their decision-making, including allocation of monetary and material resources.

FROM DECLINE TO REFORM

Although the decline of the sector continued throughout the 1990s, awareness of the problem has been growing and the government has been taking measures to liberalize the provision of education at all levels and to dismantle policies and practices which confined the supply of education services and materials to government and parastatal organizations. A significant sub-sector reform has been the commercialization of textbook provision. There has been a concurrent reform of the curriculum, which has reduced the number of subjects in primary school.

Policy reform is an ongoing process and has resulted in a number of policies which lay the foundation for education sector reform and, in the future, a sector-wide approach to education support:

- National Training Policy (United Republic of Tanzania. President's Office/Civil Service Department, 1994);
- Education and Training Policy (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1995);
- National Higher Education Policy (Ministry of Science, Technology and Culture, 1999);
- Science and Technology Policy (Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education, 1998*a*);
- Tanzania Development Vision 2025 (President's Office/Planning Commission, 1998*b*);
- Policy for Local Government Reform (Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, 1998).

The system continues, however, to be inefficient and under-funded. One of the inefficiencies is the multitude of donor-financed education projects, each with its own

management and reporting systems—some working nationally, others at the district level; some heavily dependent on externally recruited technical assistance, others managed by ministries or local government authorities. The number of projects has grown steadily, with a total of eighty externally funded human resource development projects (mainly education and training) and over twenty bilateral and multilateral agencies active in the sector (UNDP, 1998).

The sheer number of externally funded education projects, together with the fragmented responsibility for education on the Tanzanian side, has become untenable. Those who suffer as a result of the inefficiencies are the children and their teachers, particularly poor children and teachers working in the more deprived areas. To be able to have an impact on education, it became imperative for the agencies to act together, with the government, to support the reform process and substantially increase funding to education.

PARTNERSHIP AND OWNERSHIP

At the same time as education support was becoming more fragmented, the government and the agency community were striving to change the nature of the relationship from that of donor–recipient to that of partnership. This started in 1995 in a dialogue between the Nordic countries and the newly elected government of President Benjamin Mkapa. A background paper was prepared (Helleiner, 1995) which set out some basic principles for Tanzanian ownership of the development co-operation process and for partnership as a basis for government–agency relationships. The principles were accepted by the majority of the partner countries and organizations working in the United Republic of Tanzania.

The agreement achieved is based on the United Republic of Tanzania's political vision, which includes commitment to democratization, decentralization, the fight against corruption and a sustainable economic policy. Key principles for the co-operation relations include Tanzanian assumption of leadership and sole ownership of the programmes with regard to planning, design, implementation and evaluation. While the United Republic of Tanzania has full responsibility for the programmes and resources, the parties will conduct an open dialogue on all aspects of the programmes. The Nordic parties to the original agreement undertook to adopt programme assistance as soon as Tanzanian policies were defined for the various sectors, and to support only priority sectors as defined by the United Republic of Tanzania. The wider partnership is followed up regularly in-country, but also at Consultative Group meetings. Swedish commitment to the partnership was reinforced by the clear articulation of the partnership principle in Sweden's new policy with Africa (Sweden, 1998).

The partnership and ownership message has implications for relations between the agencies active in education and the Tanzanian Government. If the latter is to own the process of education reform and work in partnership with the agencies, it has to bring the agencies together. This is an extremely difficult task in view of the fragmented nature of the support. Whilst the Ministry of Education and Culture was willing in

the mid-1990s to call the development co-operation agencies to quarterly meetings, these achieved little. They were irregular and unwieldy and often led to frustration on both sides of the table. It was necessary to establish a kind of partnership in which agencies also felt responsible for the development of the sector.

Improved co-ordination was achieved in 1998 by means of a series of meetings of the external partners in which a core group was nominated to meet more regularly and feed back to the government the ideas of the external partners and their responses to the education sector reform process. This group was co-ordinated by the European Commission office on behalf of all the education agencies, not just those of the EU Member States. As the process of developing an ESDP gained momentum, three bodies (the European Commission, the United Kingdom's Department for International Development and the Embassy of Sweden) were nominated to represent all the external partners in a joint government/agency management group. This co-ordination mechanism worked well in moving towards the appraisal of the ESDP, which was carried out in May 1999.

FROM PROJECTS TO PROGRAMME

Following the appraisal of the ESDP, a consultant went through the appraisal report with the government and the development co-operation agencies in order to make a proposal for the further management of the programme preparations. The main question was how to establish a process which is inclusive of all concerned parties, i.e. the multitude of government and non-governmental bodies and the development co-operation agencies, while also setting up a workable, decision-making and executive organization which can drive the process forward. A rather complex committee structure has been established, with an inter-ministerial steering committee and a series of technical working groups, both by education level and for cross-cutting issues. Between these two levels is an Education Sector Standing Committee comprising permanent secretaries and directors of the ministries concerned, representatives of the external partners, and non-governmental and community-based organizations. Some, but not all, of the committees have held initial meetings. Progress is slow and it could be that the principle of inclusion has been prioritized at the cost of efficiency and timeliness.

A number of issues have arisen throughout the ESDP process which are not yet resolved and which may prove impossible to resolve to the satisfaction of all parties. They include:

- The difficulties experienced by the Ministry of Education and Culture in fully involving the other ministries and key education institutions, such as the Tanzania Institute of Education (responsible for curriculum development) and the National Examinations Council, in the process of programme development. This has led to their rather weak involvement in the design and management of the preparations for the ESDP.
- The top-down management style of public administration in the United Republic of Tanzania, which leads the Ministry of Education and Culture to tend to

substitute information downwards for genuine participation of its own line departments and district education officials.

- Pacing the development of the programme to keep it in line with the crucial Local Government Reform Programme. Starting in January 2000, this programme will devolve responsibility and budgets to one-third of the local government authorities and to all of them by 2002. This includes block grants for education.
- Over-reliance on external consultants, both national and international. This has resulted in a plethora of reports which few have time to read. A typical example was a request by the Ministry for additional international funding for a district-based school mapping exercise. The project had been carried out in 12 (out of 115) districts. Senior officials who made the request during a meeting could not, however, indicate whether the project was generating useful information. They had simply had no time to read the reports.
- Lack of transparency regarding the terms of reference for the consultants, the choice of consultants and the results of the consultancies.
- Keeping the momentum going, for example through vacation periods and through intensive periods of ministry work, such as annual budget preparations.

In addition to the above, there is serious concern about the capabilities of the district administrations with regard to assuming responsibility for basic education. Some will probably manage, and even manage well, on their own. Others will need support. This diversity of needs goes against the Tanzanian tradition of treating all parties equally. Also, there is serious resistance from teachers to being employed by the local instead of the central government. This led to a postponement of the planned devolution of responsibility for the teachers to the districts, which should have been implemented in 1999.

However, despite the above concerns, progress has been made. We are learning together about the complexities of implementing an ESDP in a country with an overly complex administration for education and a multitude of bilateral and multilateral agencies with projects in the education sector. Key issues for the implementation of the ESDP emerged very clearly from the appraisal:

- management;
- financial management;
- monitoring and evaluation;
- funding mechanism;
- technical assistance modalities.

Without a consensus on these issues, it will be very difficult for individual agencies to commit funds to the ESDP. Even when general agreement is reached, for example on financial management, it is likely that some agencies will not be able to pool their resources with others but will need to work with clearly identified sub-projects. This should not cause problems as long as agreement can be reached on the overall management of the SWAP and on monitoring and evaluation. While it is not yet clear which agencies will commit themselves to SWAP, there will need to be a core group with substantial funds available, such as the European Commission, the World Bank and the major bilateral agencies for education in the United Republic of Tanzania.

IMPLEMENTING THE ESDP—THE ROLE OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Technical assistance in the form of both local and international consultancies—short- and long-term technical assistants working in the Ministry of Education and Culture—has been quite substantial during the last two years. There has, however, been little transparency and a great deal of frustration about the number of reports and their dubious status. Report writing seems to have replaced thought and reflection, and in a non-reading administrative culture the reports have added little to the process.

For example, the number of reports, their lack of internal coherence and sometimes conflicting conclusions necessitated engaging a large team of consultants to carry out the appraisal. In addition to the appraisal per se, the task of sifting through the reports, drawing conclusions and formulating a coherent set of proposals was devolved to the consultants, a task which might reasonably have been carried out by the Ministry during the ESDP preparations. In the end, about fifty consultants were involved, one positive side effect being that a number of Tanzanian education specialists were drawn into a process from which they had earlier been excluded.

THE WAY AHEAD

Despite the good will, there are many obstacles to overcome before a sector programme is in place. Over the last thirty years, the traditional donor/recipient relationship has inculcated a culture of aid dependency in the United Republic of Tanzania and agencies still find projects a more comfortable vehicle for development co-operation than sector programmes.

In a sector with many partners on both the government and agency sides, it will take time to reach an agreement on a sector programme. There will inevitably be an interim period during which projects run parallel with the first attempts at a sector programme and when new styles of management, monitoring and evaluation will be tested. It is important in our struggle with the technical, management and monitoring problems that we do not lose sight of the ultimate goal, namley to make a difference to the children and their teachers in the Tanzanian schools.

It will be important to be realistic about what can be achieved when, and to maintain a balance between the managerial and education aspects of the programme. Education in the United Republic of Tanzania has declined so much that marginal changes in project form are insufficient to make an impact on quality and accessibility. A sector-wide programme is both essential and possible.

Some conclusions and challenges for external partners

Sida's experience from participating in the processes of preparing education sector programmes and SPS has shown that these are complex and take time. So far, as has been demonstrated in the case of the United Republic of Tanzania, it has not

been time-saving, neither for Sida nor for the ministries involved. Without strongly determined and committed host government leadership, diverse and sometimes conflicting agency demands have a tendency to erode ownership and purposefulness.

It is imperative that the national democratic procedures of the host country not be hijacked in the process of negotiating support to education sector development programmes. External partners, including many of the consultants, tend to forget that policies and budgets, i.e. long-term programmes such as an ESDP, are supposed to be debated and approved by national parliaments and their constituencies. Transparency, consultation and open debate are principles that must be adhered to by all partners. If, as partners, we do not respect the rules of ownership and democratic processes, our credibility when working for democratic education, enhancing human rights, democratic development and poverty reduction will be questioned. One problem, as has been highlighted in the case of the United Republic of Tanzania, has been to rely too much on consultants, who often make new demands that result in new consultancies rather than in resources for implementing an ESDP.

One of the major challenges for agencies is to accept strong ownership, as has been the case in Ethiopia and Mozambique. Some agencies are, however, reluctant to have their own area for influence restricted. Another challenge is for agencies to accept the consequences of the SWAP requirement for agency co-ordination and harmonization. Since not all agencies in the education sector (often around twenty) can participate actively in everything together, an agreement based on trust and partnership must be reached about who does what. While partnership agreements and codes of conducts are useful, the willingness to share information, and prepare and carry out joint review and monitoring missions is not always consistent among bilateral and multilateral agencies. Even if all involved attend joint review or appraisal meetings, many continue to insist on having their own reviews and reports despite the fact that one of the purposes of SWAP is to preserve the capacity of ministries of education. Ministries have to add the joint preparation of the sector programme to all the other contacts with individual agencies.

A particular factor contributing to the complexity of SWAP processes is that co-ordination between agencies has to take place both in the field and at headquarters. In a few cases, Sida headquarters has taken the initiative to organize meetings among major agencies involved in preparing support to education sector development programmes. Also, it has proved useful to have separate agency co-ordination meetings during joint review or appraisal meetings in order to sort out common concerns or differing views.

Experiences, such as those in the United Republic of Tanzania, have shown that preparing SPS is a complex, time-consuming and demanding process which must be assessed continuously so that lessons can be learnt jointly by the partners involved. The shift from project to sector programme support must be step-wise and requires patience and persistence. We are confident that SWAP and SPS are the way forward and should be attempted in the education sector. Sufficient time must be given for implementation and evaluation before concluding whether the effort to shift from project to programme support has been worthwhile.

Notes

1. Methods for such analysis and influence in the context of sector programmes have been interestingly reviewed by Norton and Bird (1998).
2. In the case of Ethiopia, all preparations for Sida support are completed, but the signing of the agreement had to be frozen owing to the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

References

Cassels, A. 1997. *Guide to sector-wide approaches for health development.* Geneva, WHO.

Helleiner, G.K. 1995. *Report on the group of independent advisors on development co-operation issues between Tanzania and its aid donors.* Copenhagen, Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Norton, A.; Bird, B. 1998. *Social development issues in sector wide approaches.* London, Department for International Development. (DFID Working Paper.)

Sida. 1996. *Policy for SIDA cooperation in basic education and education reform.* Stockholm.

Sweden. 1998. *Africa on the move: revitalising Swedish policy towards Africa for the 21st century.* Stockholm, Regeringskanseliet. (Government Communication 1997/98:122.)

Sweden. Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Sida. 1997. *Swedish international development cooperation 1997.* Stockholm.

United Nations Development Programme. 1998. *Development co-operation report for 1997: Tanzania.* Dar es Salaam, UNDP.

United Republic of Tanzania. 1998. *Policy for local government reform.* Dar es Salaam.

——. 1999. *The main document for the appraisal mission, March 13–27, 1999.* Dar es Salaam.

United Republic of Tanzania. President's Office. Civil Service Department. 1994. *National training policy.* Dar es Salaam.

United Republic of Tanzania. Ministry of Education and Culture. 1995. *Education and training policy.* Dar es Salaam.

United Republic of Tanzania. Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education. 1998*a*. *Science and technology policy.* Dar es Salaam.

United Republic of Tanzania. President's Office. Planning Commission. 1998*b*. *The Tanzania development vision 2025.* Dar es Salaam.

United Republic of Tanzania. Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education. 1999. *National higher education policy.* Dar es Salaam.

RETHINKING EDUCATIONAL AID

AN ASSESSMENT OF NEW MODALITIES IN DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

Noel F. McGinn[1]

Much attention has been given recently to changes in the modalities of development assistance. The modalities include partnerships, sector support agreements, donor coordination and donor coherence (UK, Department for International Development, 1997; Freedman, 1994; Sweden, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1997; Rudner, 1996; Wolfensohn, 1995). Their introduction has already generated one book-length analysis (King & Buchert, 1999).

Are these modalities really new? Can they be implemented as proposed? Will they make a difference in the provision of education? Answers to these questions would be speculative if we had no prior experience with these modalities. In fact, however, they have been tried before. As a consequence, we know something about difficulties in their implementation, and about what is required if they are to achieve their objectives.

This paper attempts to lay out those requirements, and to suggest how the modalities might be structured to maximize effectiveness. This is done by consideration of three issues. The first is the history of aid to education. As a history it is unsatisfactory, but it may help to put the current situation in context. Does aid work? Can we learn how to make it more effective?

Original language: English

Noel F. McGinn (United States of America)
Professor Emeritus of Education at Harvard University Graduate School of Education and Fellow Emeritus of Harvard Institute for International Development. His research interests include school effectiveness, educational planning, decentralization, international cooperation and the impacts of globalization on education. He is the author of numerous books and articles, including *Framing questions, constructing answers: linking research with education policy for developing countries* (with Allison Borden) and *Informed dialogue: using research to shape education policy around the world* (with Fernando Reimers). E-mail: Nmcginn@igc.org

The second issue is the nature of the 'new' modalities. What are the relationships to be established? Can partnerships be limited to material aid? If technical assistance is required, what expertise is of most value?

The third issue concerns two other ways of organizing aid to education. The proposals made, originally put forward by others, are offered as a way of minimizing the risks and maximizing the gains from partnership.

A brief and critical history of aid to education

Nations have co-operated with one another from the beginning of recorded history. For the most part, early co-operation took the form of exchange or reciprocity. Countries traded back and forth resources, information, ideas and even technical assistance. Co-operation in the form of one-directional aid was relatively limited.

This pattern changed with the European colonization of Latin America, Africa and Asia. Significant amounts of 'technical assistance' in the form of missionaries and teachers flowed to the colonies, even as great wealth was extracted from them. Most of this aid was provided through churches and religious organizations until the early part of the twentieth century when private philanthropic foundations, particularly in the United States, became important providers of one-directional assistance (Smith, 1990).

International co-operation evolved further as a result of the two world wars. Most of this was necessarily collaborative (between the Allies), but one-directional flows of aid (to support the war effort and in the post–Second World War Marshall Plan) came to be seen as essential for 'development'. The first bilateral and multilateral agencies emphasized collaboration. But with the failure of early efforts more attention was given to development financing or one-directional aid.

EDUCATION AFTER FORTY YEARS OF AID

Despite massive amounts of aid, profound problems continue to plague the education systems of many recipient countries. In Latin America, for example, about US$12 billion has been given or loaned in aid during the past ten years. Although some gains have been registered, major problems remain unsolved. For example, improvements in access are accompanied by complaints about declining quality. Overall quality is low compared with that in the early-industrialized countries, and the gap has grown larger. There have been few advances in equity (Schiefelbein et al., 1998).

The apparent failure of aid in Latin America, and in Africa (Habte, 1999), is explained in at least three ways:

1. Governments use aid to replace their own funds, rather than to increase total spending on education;
2. Projects financed by loans have often failed to yield good results and high direct costs have limited the ability of countries to pursue other, more important activities;

45

3. Both loans and assistance can have high opportunity costs. Reliance on external assistance has contributed to failure to develop endogenous capacity for the improvement of education.

The long-term effect of aid has been a reduction of differences, in structures and policies, beliefs and customs, between participating countries. This process of standardization in education has a long history, linked directly with colonialism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (von Laue, 1987) and more recently with the emergence of supranational organizations (McGinn, 1994). Over time, the education systems of the world have come to look much like one another in terms of curriculum content, pedagogical process, and management and governance (Benavot & Kamen, 1989; McNeely, 1995; Ramirez, 1997).

Critics of standardization have expressed two major concerns:

1. Earlier complaints were that the *processes* that result in standardization constitute a violation of the sovereignty of States. Critics pointed to the Charter of the United Nations, which appears to forbid intervention by one nation in the internal affairs of another. The world community now seems to be moving away from this strict interpretation of sovereignty.
2. More recently, concern has been expressed about reduction of variety across education systems. With globalization have come problems and opportunities not foreseen twenty years ago. If all education systems were alike, where would we find those varieties best suited to the range of new conditions? Systems perform best when they match the variety in the environment with internal variety. If we make all education systems the same, we reduce the chances of discovering new and more effective forms of education in the future (Samoff, 1996).

DOES AID WORK?

The costs of aid would be more tolerable if it were clear that development assistance is an unqualified good. What is the record? Criticism of the aid process is long-standing (Paddock & Paddock, 1973; Tendler, 1975). There has been, however, little systematic study of the impact of aid on receiving countries and their education systems. In general, the analysis of the impact of aid on education is limited to a few examples or countries, and focuses more on process than on eventual outcome (Buchert & King, 1995; Farrell, 1994; King, 1991; King & Buchert, 1999; Leach, 1997). In part, this is because the international aid agencies themselves seldom carry out (or have not published) studies of the long-term impact of their policies and practices on education. There are, however, detailed and systematic evaluations of aid in general. Some of these studies have been sponsored by the bilateral and multilateral agencies (e.g. Ayres, 1984; Cassen & Associates, 1994); others have been done from the outside (Riddell, 1987; Stokke, 1996; Tisch & Wallace, 1994).

The general conclusion from these studies is that the empirical evidence with respect to the impact of aid on the economies, polities and cultures of receiving

countries is equivocal; that is, it does not permit a generalized conclusion. Aid sometimes 'works' and sometimes does not. What 'works' varies from country to country, and according to the particular definition of effectiveness that is used. In some cases rapid economic growth has occurred with aid, and in other cases without. In some cases massive amounts of aid have failed to increase economic growth rates. Aid strategies effective in one circumstance fail in others. Sometimes aid clearly contributes to some version of development. In other cases, implementation of the 'recommendations' of aid organizations has produced negative outcomes for the receiving country.

In effect, the aid agencies have been fallible sources for understanding how best to respond to the problems and opportunities faced by education. This fallibility is demonstrated in two ways. First, the policy positions of the various agencies with respect to education have changed radically over time, sometimes contradicting previous recommendations. Agencies that began promoting more equitable distribution of resources through nuclearization of rural schools later shifted to recommending creation of centres of excellence. Loans and grants have been given for secondary-level technical and vocational education in some periods and argued against in others. Higher education used to be the primary target for assistance, but now countries are criticized for spending too much in this sector.

Second, not all improvements promoted by the agencies have been sustained over the long term. Aid funds for the capital or development budget have generated cost burdens on the recurrent budget, not financed externally. In some cases the country has not been able (or willing) to continue to finance additional costs once assistance ended. In some cases, results failed to live up to expectations and projects were cancelled.

Fallibility is a human trait, and therefore its imputation is not in itself a harsh criticism of aid agencies. But assistance in the form of aid is not a 'free good'. Loans to education have been one source of the debt burden carried by a number of countries. Concessional credits and grants that require increased spending from recurrent budgets also increased the financial difficulties of poor countries. The various mistakes of aid agencies have been detailed elsewhere and do not have to be repeated here. The question is, will 'new' approaches reduce the likelihood of future mistakes by the aid agencies?

Difficulties that may be encountered with the new modalities

Change implies costs as well as benefits. The benefits that accrue from the new modalities will be a direct function of the extent to which they replace dysfunctional aid relationships. This section begins with a review of prior experiences with the modalities. Negative experiences suggest three questions about their return to use. The first concerns the various meanings of 'partnership'. The second relates to issues associated with sector approaches. A third question is whether donor co-ordination and coherence are always desirable.

PRIOR USE OF THE 'NEW' TERMS

The concepts and concerns behind the new modalities are themselves not new. 'Partnership', for example, has a reasonably long history in international co-operation. The term was used extensively by the United States in connection with its 1960s Alliance for Progress and by apologists for 'trilateralism' in the early 1970s,[2] and was championed by the Inter-American Foundation in the late 1970s (Meehan, 1979). In recent years the term has enjoyed a resurgence and appears with increasing frequency in development documents and research reports.

Several reasons are offered for the rediscovery of 'partnership' at this particular point in history. Discussion of partnership is attributed in part to rising demands by 'a new generation of leaders and policy-makers determined to engage with the world on equal terms' (King, 1999, p. 16). On the other hand, bilateral and multilateral aid agencies, buffeted by criticisms of structural adjustment, have also taken it up, using adjectives such as 'genuine', 'equal' and 'respectful' to underline their intention to share leadership with receiving countries (King, 1999).

It is more difficult to document the terms 'sector support' and 'sector-wide approaches', but they too have been in use from the early days of international assistance to education. For example, early policy papers by the World Bank and other agencies referred to the education sector as a target for assistance. In the late 1960s, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) began to offer assistance to a small number of countries without requiring identification of specific projects to which the funds would be applied. The Swedish International Development Agency was providing sector support to education in some African countries in the 1970s and 1980s. Sector assessments were used by both bilateral and multilateral agencies and linked to comprehensive or system planning.[3]

Donor co-ordination may have arisen as an objective the first time development workers from different agencies met in the field. There were too many demands for any one agency to meet and it was assumed that field workers could learn much from one another. Over time this enthusiasm for co-operation faded, however, perhaps because of competition to satisfy a declining market for assistance.

Donor coherence at an earlier time was primarily a concern of *critics* of international aid. The 'dependency' theorists of the 1960s and 1970s, for example, argued that the poor countries were being under-developed by their relationships with the advanced industrial countries. 'Aid' contributed to both economic and cultural penetration, and aid amounts were insignificant in comparison with the capital flows out of poor countries towards the rich ones. 'Trade not aid' was the cry, a call for greater coherence in the policies of the aid-giving countries and international aid agencies.

Even the concept of 'ownership', a new defining characteristic of the sectoral approach, has a history of use. Educational reformers employed the term in the 1980s (Gagné, 1980), as did those working in community development (Littrell, 1985) and participatory planning (Rondinelli, 1993).

Of course, the prior use of these concepts does not detract from their current value. Perhaps they are just now coming into their own, the result of years

of 'development education'. What an examination of prior use can provide, however, is a better understanding of the challenges involved in pursuing these modalities.

THE MEANINGS OF PARTNERSHIP[4]

The concept of partnership implies a relationship of exchange, in which both parties share gains, and costs, of the relationship. In the language of love, partners promise to support each other 'in sickness and in health'. In the language of business, partnership entails mutual liability and risk. Entering into a partnership means giving another the right to make demands on you. The assumption of mutual liability makes it possible to develop trust: I am more certain to trust you if I know it is in your interest that I prosper. The development of trust requires that the alliance be stable. Unlike dalliances, partnerships are expected to continue.

One way of categorizing partnerships is in terms of their objectives.[5] *Remedial* partnerships attempt to fix something that is not working well for one or both of the partners. These partnerships typically are limited in time, and have least impact on the values of the partners. Many of the partnerships aimed at institution or capacity building are of this type.

Product partnerships involve two or more parties in efforts to produce something. This may be infrastructure, curriculum, textbooks, and so on. One partner may put up the cash, another the technical expertise or labour. One example of a product partnership was the consortium that developed the West African Examinations Council. The new element modifies organizations, but does not fundamentally change them. It may have some impact on values and objectives.

A third type of *institutional* partnership is intended to produce a new kind of organization with new objectives as well as structures and processes. The European Union is one example of such a partnership. There have been a number of failed efforts of this kind among the developing countries. For example, in the 1960s the five countries of Central America joined together to jointly plan higher education. The Southeast Asia Ministers of Education Organization was formed to share information and technical assistance. There appear to be no published studies of partnerships of this kind.

Partnerships make sense in certain circumstances. For example, two relatively weak organizations facing a hostile take-over by another may opt to combine their resources in order to prevent losing their autonomy. Similarly, two or more organizations or countries with limited but complementary resources may decide to combine development efforts to increase their joint viability and competitiveness in the world economy. Organizations and countries of unequal size, resource endowments or level of development may find it reasonable to join together when each will benefit from collaboration, or lose if they fail to do so. In exchange for protection, a weak nation might exchange some of its natural or human resources. In a globalizing world, problems of one country become problems of many others; we share liability—like it or not (Forster, 1999).

From this perspective a desire to help others may not be a sufficient basis for seeking partnership. Partnership implies mutual liability and risk, which are absent in current patterns of aid. We do not expect to be changed when we act as helpers; rather, we hope that others will change. A critical question for those seeking true partnerships is whether they are willing to make themselves vulnerable to their 'partners'.

PARTNERSHIPS WITH WHOM?

Are we willing to enter into partnerships with all governments, or only those that meet certain requirements? The minimal requirement is stability: governments that change frequently are not good partners. Governments known to be corrupt do not make good partners. There is already ample evidence that donor agencies and countries are not willing to be partners, that is to share a destiny, with countries whose political or economic philosophy contradicts their own.

What about respect for citizens? Can we form partnerships with governments that treat their citizens badly? The development community has been divided for some time over this point. Some argue that decisions about development assistance should be made purely on technical grounds and not involve political considerations. A more radical position is that development automatically results in improvement of human rights. From this perspective, not to give development assistance to oppressive governments prolongs the oppression of their people. If, on the other hand, aid is used to support an oppressive regime (as has happened in the past), would entering into a partnership not make the donor an accomplice?

This dilemma of how to intervene through assistance and still maintain one's ethical position is an old one. It may be intensified with an insistence on partnership and ownership. New strategies are required in order to mitigate its effects. The final section of this paper suggests one possible strategy, but first examines the implications of emphasis on sector-wide approaches.

DIFFICULTIES ENGENDERED BY A SECTOR SUPPORT APPROACH

As noted earlier, sector planning was in vogue thirty years ago. The sector approach taken at that time presumed that it is possible to anticipate all important objectives for the future, as well as the best means to achieve them. It required large quantities of reliable data and well-trained analysts, and a heroic assumption that the future will be much like the past.

This approach to policy formulation lost favour after repeated failures to anticipate problems of implementation and changes in the political and economic context. The turbulence introduced by globalization rendered comprehensive planning increasingly difficult. In the aid-giving countries sector planning has been replaced by either strategic planning or no planning at all.

Under what circumstances might a sector approach find greater success in aid-receiving countries? Perhaps aid-receiving countries have improved their own capac-

ity for policy analysis, planning and management. The critical element is systemic analysis, and accurate assessment of costs and internal resource flows. Sector-wide approach projects may be feasible in some countries with highly developed information systems and trained personnel. It seems more likely, however, that not all countries are ready to take on the complexities of sector-wide planning and policy analysis. In those cases, imposition of a sector approach may increase dependence on external assistance.

In the new sector approach donors and recipients have separate and distinct responsibilities. Donors are supposed to monitor and supervise the aid flow process. The recipients decide about all activities and hire and supervise technical advisers, and manage the work in the field. Monitoring and evaluation is a joint responsibility. Each of these tasks requires institutional capability. Donor and recipient must co-ordinate their objectives and activities much more closely than in traditional aid and technical assistance. Recipient personnel must be able, and willing, to argue as equals with donors about how projects will be carried out. In those especially poor countries in which aid is critical to budgets, it will be difficult for government personnel to speak their minds. It also will be difficult for expatriate technical advisers to accept criticism of the donor's recommendations from those requiring assistance (Riddell, 1999).

The sector-wide approach calls for donor co-ordination of a different sort from that carried out today. In the traditional approach, the interests of donors determined the kinds of projects they would fund. In the full version of this new approach, countries decide their own priorities. In effect, donors are limited to contributing to a general education budget, from which countries can draw for projects of their choice in the sequence they choose. Strictly speaking, the only interest donors should now have is to enable countries to do what they want. This shift, from policy agency to funding agency, appears to be easier for some bilateral agencies than others. USAID, for example, must defend its budget in detail before the United States Congress. Multilateral agencies that have spent years developing and promoting their capacity for policy analysis will find it difficult to turn decisions over to governments.

IS DONOR CO-ORDINATION ALWAYS DESIRABLE?

The image of co-ordination of the aid agencies is highly attractive. Without co-ordination, there are multiple demands on the attention and personnel of recipient country ministries. Agencies sometimes compete among themselves with conflicting proposals, sometimes with different departments in a single ministry.

On the other hand, co-ordination could entail additional risk for recipients. It will be some time before all advisers, expatriate and national, are hired and supervised by the recipient countries. In the meantime, information will continue to be filtered by the agencies and their contractors. The agencies and their contractors will continue as sources of 'expert knowledge' about problems of development in specific countries and regions. The more agencies co-ordinate their activities, the more stan-

dardized information will be and the more difficult it will be for recipient countries to argue their perspective on development.

If, on the other hand, co-ordination is between agency and recipient country, then it may well be that 'coordination focuses on the goal of articulating aid with the development plans and priorities of the recipient countries' (Buchert, 1999, p. 223, quoting Williams, 1995, p. 4). In this case three conditions must be met (Buchert, 1999, p. 223–24):

- The donor agency or country must be willing to do this;
- The recipient country must have plans and priorities; and
- The recipient must be able to manage aid funds and technical assistance.

Is it reasonable to expect that aid will continue when the recipient country's plans and priorities do not match those of donor countries and agencies? Is coherence, or sameness of perspective, the requisite condition for aid? Or, in other words, must we first achieve universal standards before we can allow recipient countries to decide for themselves? Decisions of this kind will be made on political grounds (Buchert & King, 1995). If they depend only on political currents in two countries, relationships will be unstable. Greater stability will be achieved as more actors or stakeholders are involved. It may also be enhanced if it is possible to negotiate formal and public rules of procedure (Wohlgemuth, 1999).

From the recipient country's perspective, *competition* between agencies might produce equally high levels of funding, and avoid the difficulties of pleasing a partner. The competition in question is to provide assistance and loans, but as controlled by the recipient country. A country with plans and priorities capable of managing funds is in an ideal position to put out tenders to those donors seeking opportunities to help, or to make loans.

A SUMMARY OF ISSUES NOT RESOLVED BY THE NEW MODALITIES

The issues not resolved by the new modalities can be grouped into three categories: characteristics of givers, characteristics of receivers and characteristics of partnerships.

1. In some countries, for example the United States, the political constituency for foreign aid is small and ineffective. It is not possible to ensure constant, much less increased, funding levels. In addition, budget allocations are for cycles of one or two years. Strong political actors seek to design aid to contribute to national security objectives. These conditions limit the number of long-term commitments that can be sustained.
2. Many aid-receiving countries still lack the infrastructure and personnel required to handle sector-wide assistance. In many cases their political structures and practices lack transparency and accountability mechanisms.
3. As proposed, partnerships do not identify and develop awareness of mutual dependence. Without this orientation, inevitable disagreements between partners tend to be resolved by the use of economic, political or expert power. This erodes trust and restricts the growth of the relationship.

The following section illustrates some alternative approaches that might contribute to resolution of these issues within the partnership framework.

Alternative ways to give aid

Two brief suggestions are presented as to how aid agencies might fund country-determined projects within the partnership model. The critical concept is still co-ordination, but among the recipient countries. Just as the countries of Europe have benefited from partnerships among themselves, so too can developing countries benefit. The current organization of aid between individual countries, or between multilateral agencies and individual countries, reduces the likelihood that countries will co-operate with one another in development projects.

The objective of the proposed arrangements is to create an 'honest broker' or mediator of the relationship between aid giver and receiver. Third-party mediation as a means to resolve and prevent conflicts between partners is known and used in all cultures. In this case, the objectives are to:

- Maximize the institutional capacity of recipient countries to determine priorities, and design and implement effective projects;
- Minimize the likelihood of donor coercion or imposition in the partnership relationship;
- Minimize the likelihood of misuse of funds by recipient countries.

These mechanisms, and any others, will work to the extent that they are characterized by transparency, widespread distribution of information, and the presence of high-level technical and legal competence.

REGIONALIZATION OF AID

The first proposal is that agencies give priority to funding of projects that involve collaboration between recipient countries. Experiences across countries can yield a fuller range of successful and unsuccessful strategies than are visible in any given country. Regional collaboration permits economies of scale not achieved when countries undertake their own projects. Globalization is both cause and source of solution for some of the problems poor countries face. Collaborative action at the regional level can contribute both to solving these problems and to enhancing national idiosyncrasies. There is now considerable experience in co-ordination among recipient countries with respect to higher education (Van Audenhove, 1999).

This model can be called the *collaboration model*. The objective is to encourage countries to assume responsibility for monitoring one another. The members of the European Union are especially well prepared to discuss the difficulties, and advantages, of this approach to development.

REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TO MEDIATE AID

The second proposal carries further the concept of co-ordination. It calls for the creation of a funding organization representing several countries in a region. This

organization may be created for the sole purpose of administering and allocating development funds provided by the donor agencies or countries. Countries apply to the regional fund rather than to the agencies. The regional fund organization has the authority and the staff to evaluate the contribution of the requested assistance to development in the region. Special attention might be given to projects that involve two or more countries, such as development of textbooks, assessment or even curriculum.[6]

This might be called the *peer review model*. The regional organization could be staffed with citizens of the aid-receiving countries now working in the various international aid agencies. The organization should be given high visibility. It would, of course, be accountable to countries contributing to the regional development fund. The first project might be the establishment of a regional organization for training in development management.

The Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) serves as an encouraging example of such an organization. ADEA began as a donors' organization, but moved towards being a forum in which recipients could make their views known. At present the ADEA Steering Committee includes ten representatives of African ministers of education and training; these are elected by the Caucus of African Ministers, which includes all African ministers of education and training.

The next step should be an organization in which representatives of participating countries would constitute the organization, and the agencies would be the guests. Such an organization would require autonomy with regard to both agencies and recipient countries. Its authority, granted by participating recipients, would include:

- Approval, or rejection, of all requests for assistance;
- Monitoring of fund use in recipient countries and of project implementation;
- Evaluation of consequences of completed projects;
- Cessation of funding and future grants in case of malfeasance.

Obviously, such an organization could survive only if it were backed with legitimacy and funds by the current donors, and staffed with reputable people. Both conditions can be met at this time.

A brief conclusion

The words associated with the new modalities might distract from the new issues the modalities generate, and the old problems they do not resolve. The latter include:

1. How to make the information and analytical capability we have available to our neighbours;
2. In such a way that it does not impose specific courses of action, nor compel changes in values, and at the same time;
3. Fulfil our responsibility to care for, in the sense of loving, those neighbours?

These questions add up to a profound human dilemma, for which there are no permanent answers.

Ameliorative answers may lie, however, in donors learning how to strengthen the neighbour's capacity to say no to them. The donors' mission is not to make their neighbours love them and their ways. It is not to make their neighbours like those who would help them. Caring for others means seeking to enable them to form their own objectives and to achieve them. That involves helping them to recognize their own values from which flow options for action. The donors' best practices are best applied to their own problems.

In less desperate circumstances, therefore, donors can have less concern for alleviating the immediate suffering of their neighbours. Instead, the donors' focus can be on how to reduce the future vulnerability of others. If others are truly our neighbours, their vulnerability is ours, and assuming our share of suffering reduces theirs.

In this globalizing world we have a unique opportunity to form larger communities blessed by great variety, but also by mutual dependence. A major challenge for the twenty-first century is to learn how to do this in education.

Notes

1. In preparing this paper I received insightful assistance from Lene Buchert, Harry Costin, Kenneth King, Mary Lou McGinn, James Williams and Thomas Welsh, none of whom bear responsibility for its limitations.
2. The Trilateral Commission was founded in 1973 by 200 representatives of international business, conservative labour and other private citizens to 'engineer an enduring partnership among the ruling classes of North America, Western Europe and Japan' in the defence of capitalism (Sklar, 1980, p. 6). For an updated apology, see Nye, Biedenkopf & Motou (1991).
3. An excellent critique of more recent sector analyses carried out in Africa has been provided by Samoff (1996).
4. The definitions that follow are akin to, but are not derived from, those elaborated by the governments of Sweden (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1997) and the United Kingdom (Department for International Development, 1997), and by the President of the World Bank (Wolfensohn, 1995).
5. These ideas were contributed by Thomas Welsh.
6. These ideas are based on the notion of 'autonomous development funds' developed by Hyden (1997).

References and bibliography

Ayres, R.L. 1984. *Banking on the poor: the World Bank and world poverty*. Cambridge, MA, MIT Press.

Benavot, A.; Kamen, D. 1989. *The curricular content of primary education in developing countries*. Washington, DC, World Bank. (World Bank Staff Working Paper no. 237.)

Bornschier, V.; Chase-Dunn, C. 1985. *Transnational corporations and underdevelopment*. New York, Praeger.

Buchert, L. 1999. Co-ordination of aid to education at the country level: some experiences and lessons from the United Republic of Tanzania in the 1990s. *In*: King, K.; Buchert, L., eds., op. cit., p. 222–38.

Buchert, L.; King, K., eds. 1995. *Learning from experience: policy and practice in aid to higher education*. The Hague, Centre for Studies on Education in Developing Nations. (CESO Paperback no. 24.)

Cassen, R. & Associates. 1994. *Does aid work? Report to an intergovernmental task force*. New York, Oxford University Press.

Farer, T.J. 1996. *Beyond sovereignty: collectively defending democracy in the Americas*. Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Farrell, J.P. 1994. Educational cooperation in the Americas: a review. *In*: Puryear, J.M.; Brunner, J.J., eds. *Education, equity and economic competitiveness in the Americas: an Inter-American Dialogue Project*, p. 67–102. Washington, DC, Organization of American States.

Forster, J. 1999. The new boundaries of international development co-operation. *In*: King, K.; Buchert, L., eds., op. cit., p. 31–45.

Freedman, J. 1994. Partnership in development co-operation. *Development* (Thousand Oaks, CA), vol. 4, p. 50–51.

Gagné, R.M. 1980. Educational research and development: how to influence school practices. *Educational technology* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ), vol. 20, no. 4, p. 40–43.

Habte, A. 1999. The future of international aid to education: a personal reflection. *In*: King, K.; Buchert, L., eds., op. cit., p. 46–59.

Hyden, G. 1997. The battle for new formulas: foreign aid in longer term perspective. *In*: Swedish International Development Agency, ed. *Development cooperation in the 21st century*. Stockholm, Swedish International Development Agency.

King, K. 1991. *Aid and education in the developing world: the role of the donor agencies in educational analysis*. Harlow, England, Longman.

——. 1999. Introduction: new challenges to international development co-operation in education. *In*: King, K.; Buchert, L., eds., op. cit., p. 13–30.

King, K.; Buchert, L., eds. 1999. *Changing international aid to education*. Paris, UNESCO Publishing/NORRAG.

Leach, F. 1997. International aid to education: why projects fail. *In*: Watson, K.; Modgil, C.; Modgil, S., eds. *Educational dilemmas: debate and diversity*, vol. 3, *Power and responsibility in education*, p. 89–100. London, Cassell.

Littrell, D.W. 1985. An introduction to action research in community development. *Research in rural sociology and development* (Greenwich, CT), vol. 2, p. 187–95.

McGinn, N.F. 1994. The impact of supranational organizations on public education. *International journal of educational development* (Tarrytown, NY), vol. 14, no. 3, p. 289–98.

——. 1999. *Toward international cooperation in education*. Washington, DC, Organization of American States.

McNeely, C.L. 1995. Prescribing national education policies: the role of the international organizations. *Comparative education review* (Chicago, IL), vol. 39, no. 4, p. 483–507.

Meehan, E.J. 1979. *In partnership with people: an alternative development strategy*. Washington, DC, Superintendent of Documents.

Nye, J.S.; Biedenkopf, K.; Motou, S. 1991. *Global cooperation after the Cold War: a reassessment of trilateralism*. New York, Trilateral Commission.

Paddock, W.; Paddock, E. 1973. *We don't know how: an independent audit of what they call success in foreign assistance*. Ames, IA, Iowa State University Press.

Ramirez, F.O. 1997. The nation-State, citizenship and educational change: institutionalization and globalization. *In*: Cummings, W.K.; McGinn, N.F., eds. *International handbook of education and development: preparing schools, students and nations for the twenty-first century*, p. 47–62. Oxford, Elsevier Science.

Riddell, A. 1999. *Technical assistance in sector-wide approaches to educational development: some issues for discussion.* London, Department for International Development. (Unpublished.)

Riddell, R. 1987. *Foreign aid reconsidered.* Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Rondinelli, D.A. 1993. *Development projects as policy experiments: an adaptive approach to development administration.* New York, Routledge.

Rudner, M. 1996. Canada in the world: development assistance in Canada's new foreign policy framework. *Revue canadienne d'études du développement/Canadian journal of development studies* (Ottawa), vol. 17, no. 2, p. 193–220.

Samoff, J. 1996. Chaos and certainty in development. *World development* (Tarrytown, NY), vol. 24, no. 4, p. 611–33.

Schiefelbein, E., et al. 1998. *Education in the Americas: quality and equity in the globalization process.* Washington, DC, Organization of American States.

Sklar, H. 1980. *Trilateralism: the Trilateral Commission and elite planning for world management.* Boston, South End Press.

Smith, B.H. 1990. *More than altruism: the politics of private foreign aid.* Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press.

Stokke, O., ed. 1996. *Foreign aid towards the year 2000: experiences and challenges.* London, Frank Cass.

Sweden. Ministry for Foreign Affairs. 1997. *Partnership with Africa: proposals for a new Swedish policy toward sub-Saharan Africa.* Stockholm, Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Tendler, J. 1975. *Inside foreign aid.* Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Tisch, S.J.; Wallace, M.B. 1994. *Dilemmas of development assistance: the what, why, and who of foreign aid.* Boulder, CO, Westview Press.

United Kingdom. Department for International Development. 1997. *Eliminating world poverty: a challenge for the 21st century.* London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Van Audenhove, L. 1999. *Development co-operation in higher education: a strategic review of international donor policy and experiences.* Brussels, Belgian Administration for Development Co-operation.

von Laue, T.H. 1987. *The world revolution of westernization: the twentieth century in global perspective.* New York, Oxford University Press.

Williams, P. 1995. *Government's coordination of aid to education: the case of Namibia.* Paris, ADEA/UNESCO/IIEP.

Wohlgemuth, L. 1999. Education and geopolitical change in Africa: a case for partnership. *In*: King, K.; Buchert, L., eds., op. cit., p. 153–65.

Wolfensohn, J. 1995. *New directions and new partnerships.* Washington, DC, World Bank.

RETHINKING EDUCATIONAL AID

SECTOR SUPPORT APPROACH TO FINANCING BASIC EDUCATION: LESSONS FROM BANGLADESH

Upali Sedere

The sector support approach (SSA) is a new modality of financing advocated by the development partners for the developing countries. This article shows how the demand by the World Bank and some bilateral agencies for adoption of this approach in the primary education sub-sector in Bangladesh caused a negative impact on a sector which otherwise recorded an excellent performance, and subsequently affected negatively the human development indicators. It outlines some of the factors that led to this situation and suggests important lessons that should be taken into account when introducing the approach in other situations.

Context

Bangladesh has the ninth largest primary education system in the world with 78,600 primary schools of various types, over 18 million pupils enrolled and over 316,000 teachers. At the time of the Education for All (EFA) Declaration in 1990, Bangladesh was one of the nine poorest and most illiterate nations in the world with over 60% of its 123 million inhabitants living below the poverty line and nearly 60 million adult illiterates and out-of-school children. Only 70% of the primary-school-age cohort was enrolled in schools, and 60% of those enrolled left school before com-

Original language: English

Upali Sedere (Sri Lanka)
Ph.D. Currently Team Leader and Human Resource Development Specialist to the Norwegian Government-supported Primary Education Development Project in the Directorate of Primary Education in Bangladesh. He was the Project Monitor of the World Bank's General Education Project in Bangladesh for more than five years. His is the author of *Globalization and low-income economies: reforming education—the crisis of vision*. E-mail: usedere@dhaka.agni.com

pleting the primary-school cycle. This means that only 36% of the 6–10-year-old cohort completed primary school (Bangladesh. Directorate of Primary Education (DPE), 1998; World Bank, 1989).

This situation has changed dramatically since 1990. When the EFA Declaration was signed, Bangladesh was perhaps the country best prepared to invest almost immediately in the primary education sub-sector in support of EFA agreements and commitments. The General Education Project (GEP), which was supported by a consortium of international financial and technical assistance agencies, was already in the pipeline and was commissioned on 22 December 1990 with 90% of international funding in place, totalling US$359 million. It was the largest single contributor to the EFA achievements in Bangladesh during 1991–96, without which the Government of Bangladesh (GOB) would have been unable to tackle the serious illiteracy situation in the country and meet the EFA targets. In recent years, Bangladesh has been cited as an EFA success story, receiving the 1998 UNESCO Award for Basic Education and Literacy in recognition of its achievements since the Jomtien Declaration in 1990 (World Bank, 1996, 1997*a*, 1999).

GENERAL EDUCATION PROJECT

The GEP umbrella project was targeted to provide equitable access, quality improvement, and strengthening of planning and management of education. It had the characteristics of a sub-sector programme and did not differ much from the sector-wide approach advocated today by development partners since it covered the whole country and all aspects of primary education, and all development partners and the government worked together on its implementation. Several studies were undertaken to prepare a project in the secondary education sub-sector that was to link primary education with the future demand for secondary education. All development partners collaborated on a joint supervision mission and presented a collective aid memorandum to the government. The World Bank project manager collected and disseminated information on the entire project in biannual status reports, and all issues were discussed and resolved in a transparent manner.

The project was financed through a mixture of loan and grant funds. It was led by a nine-member consortium of financial and technical assistance agencies, including the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the Governments of Sweden (Swedish International Development Agency (Sida)), the Netherlands (Directorate-General for International Co-operation—DGIS) and Norway (NORAD), and United Nations agencies, in particular the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and UNESCO. The World Bank was the largest financier (US$159 million, or 44% of the total) and ADB financed a loan of US$89 million. The contributions from the bilateral and United Nations agencies consisted of 70% loans and 30% grants, distributed as follows: Sida (US$14 million), DGIS (US$14 million), NORAD (US$12 million), UNICEF (US$12 million), UNFPA (US$5 million) and UNDP (US$5 million). The GOB's contribution was agreed at 12% of the

total. UNESCO provided technical assistance to UNDP-supported project components (World Bank, 1989).

There were a number of components and sub-components which appeared as a collection of eight different projects put together as one cohesive project, including the following activities (World Bank, 1989):

- School reconstruction and repairs;
- Building new low-cost schools;
- Experimental pilot programmes, such as setting up Satellite Schools and Non-Formal Primary Education Centres (NFPE) for the children of the poorest people in the deprived and unschooled communities;
- Developing a more relevant competency-based primary school curriculum;
- Providing free textbooks to all primary school children;
- Curriculum dissemination training for all 300,000 primary schoolteachers;
- Upgrading the Primary School Teacher Training Institutes, their curriculum and facilities, particularly for women teacher trainees;
- Upgrading the National Academy of Primary Education as the apex training institution;
- Strengthening the Educational Management Information System;
- Developing the National Academy for Educational Administration and Management.

IMPACT OF THE GENERAL EDUCATION PROJECT, 1990–96

GEP inputs were immediately translated into EFA through an Action Plan prepared by the GOB (Planning Commission, 1991) and approved by the supporting agencies. By the end of 1996, 17.6 million primary schoolchildren were enrolled. According to 1999 data, 18 million children are now enrolled, the gross enrolment ratio being 106% and the net enrolment ratio 90%. Although the primary schools also accommodate 16–20% over- and under-aged children, a 5.5 million increase in primary school enrolment was recorded during the 1990–96 GEP period. The completion rate has reached 60%, which indicates that the drop-out rate is down to 40% and that 54% of 6–10-year-old primary school children complete five years of primary school education (DPE, 1997, 1998; Haq, 1997; Haq & Haq, 1998; World Bank, 1997*a*, 1997*b*, 1998).

These achievements were supported by the results of a massive non-formal education campaign to reduce illiteracy in the adult population. Of the almost 60 million illiterates, 34 million in the below-45 age group are offered literacy classes. It is claimed that the adult literacy rate, which stood at 34% in 1990, reached 56% by mid-1999 (PMED, 1999).

Towards the completion stage of the GEP, the most important issue for the government and the agencies in the follow-up project was the improvement of the efficiency and effectiveness of the system. Thus, although access to education increased significantly through the GEP, as well as through another GOB-financed project, the available space could not accommodate the increased enrolment, thus putting pres-

sure on the system. In order to avoid overcrowding, the government wished to expand some of the successful experimental programmes, such as Satellite Schools, during the follow-up phase of the project (Sedere, 1995). Furthermore, quality and equity continued to lag behind owing to a continuous shortage and poor deployment of teachers, the poor quality and insufficient distribution of textbooks and other learning materials, and poor teaching and lack of logistical support services. School supervision, in-service training and monitoring also continued to be ineffective, and educational planning, management and evaluation much delayed.

All contributing agencies and the government argued for the introduction of a simplified and improved financing and reporting mechanism in the follow-up project. This was due particularly to the fact that the fund replenishment and reimbursement procedures differed among various agencies and that the substantial sharing of financing in most of the components and activities complicated the spending, implementation and reporting tasks of the GOB (World Bank, 1991–96).

FOLLOW-UP TO THE GENERAL EDUCATION PROJECT

Immediately after the GEP Mid-term Review in early 1994, the GOB and the development partners agreed to prepare the follow-up project, GEP-2, under the World Bank's umbrella. This was done at a time of excellent relations between the government and the agencies and excellent co-ordination of the GEP. The World Bank management responsible at that time generously extended US$1.2 million of Japanese grant funds for the preparation of the follow-up project. Because of the good relations and believing that it would expedite matters, the GOB allowed the Bank to manage the grant, which should normally be managed by the government, on the understanding that the Task Manager would consult the line ministry on all preparatory activities, seek approval for the appointment of consultants, and so forth.

However, a number of management changes within the World Bank during 1995–97 affected the preparation of the follow-up project. The Bank took full control of the funds, which were administered with little or no consultation with the government. This caused further complications and tensions in the otherwise good relations among the other partners and between the Bank and the government. Furthermore, the new management insisted that the follow-up project should be prepared as a sector support programme. It was termed the Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP) instead of GEP-2.

Although it was unclear to the GOB what the move from project to programme entailed, it initially agreed to it. The PEDP/SSA preparation and negotiation process took over three years from 1994. There were ten PEDP missions and many more local agency group consultations in order to finalize the programme. However, the negotiations were contradictory and confusing and created an unpleasant working relationship for all parties involved. They also took precedence over all development work in the sub-sector. By mid-1996, the line ministry refused to receive more missions and shifted all negotiations to the Economic Relations Division. The co-operating development partners were unsure whether to remain under the World Bank sec-

tor-wide financing umbrella or to support bilateral projects. Some of them stopped participating in the sub-sector meetings and eventually lost interest in the sub-sector.

The GOB had prepared the US$3 billion programme with a view to the three core objectives of providing equity, improving quality and enhancing efficiency. However, the new management at the Bank considered the size of the programme to be unrealistic and over-ambitious and questioned the underlying enrolment projections. In fact, the proposed contribution from the revenue budget (US$1.4 billion) represented only a marginal increase over that of the previous five years (US$1.1 billion), whereas the proposed development budget (US$1.6 billion) represented an increase of US$770 million over the allocated budget for the previous five years. Of the total development budget, the GOB planned to contribute US$800 million and to request the balance of US$800 million as international assistance. This amount represented a doubling of the previous five-year international contribution and was higher than the indicated commitment by the development partners (US$528 million), leaving a financial gap of around US$272 million or US$55 million per year. The actual contribution might, however, have increased since the GOB met a request by the partners to increase its allocation for the development budget so that the GDP share for the education sector would constitute 3% (PMED, 1996; NORAD, 1995).

Even by 1997, there was no sign of investment in the sub-sector except for two projects negotiated outside the GEP umbrella: the Comprehensive Primary Education Project commissioned by German Technical Co-operation and the German Development Bank (US$36 million) and the Intensive District Approach to Education for All project (US$92 million) commissioned by UNICEF. Considering the resource gap, the World Bank agreed to extend the GEP, which was officially to have been completed in July 1996, with new conditions attached to it. It also supported some of the remaining components of the PEDP, mostly bricks and mortar work and supply of paper for textbooks, despite disagreements with the government. Other development partners, such as the Asian Development Bank, the Norwegian Government and the United Kingdom's Department for International Development, decided to support bilateral projects in order to honour their commitments to the government, whereas Sida and DGIS have remained outside the sector, and at least five other prospective partners lost interest altogether.

As a result, a sub-sector with a well co-ordinated, cohesive donor consortium project ended up having unco-ordinated, scattered, overlapping projects and a huge resource gap to support increasing school enrolment. This has worsened the quality of primary education despite the good intentions of both the development partners and the government. Furthermore, differences among the partners and between the government and the partners widened further owing to disagreements concerning the modalities, scale of financing and the programmes. The attitude of the Bank towards the government weakened the positive, co-operative climate and made it lose its previous leadership and good image in the sub-sector. With hindsight, it seems that the government could have allocated a higher proportion in United States dollar terms for the sector in the development budget and that the World Bank's enrolment projections were under-estimates (DPE, 1998; Ministry of Finance, 1998, 1999).

EFFECT ON SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Table 1 shows that the revenue budget share dropped gradually from 48% to 42% during 1990/91–1997/98. This indicates that there was no shortfall for primary education in the budget, which is under the control of the Ministry of Education. The table also shows that when the GEP was commissioned in December 1990, the proportion of development expenditures for primary education gradually increased and reached 68% in 1992/93.

TABLE 1. Annual recurrent (revenue) and development (ADP) budget allocation and expenditures on the primary education sub-sector in Bangladesh (million takas)

Fiscal year	HDI	Revised allocation			Estimated expenditure			%-share of expenditures on primary versus total education sector	
		ADP	Revenue	Total	ADP	Revenue	Total	ADP	Revenue
1990/91	.185	1,953	5,385	7,338	1,344	5,385	6,729	40	N/A
1991/92	.185	4,516	6,704	11,220	3,385	6,654	10,039	66	48
1992/93	.189	5,281	7,621	12,902	3,902	7,471	11,373	68	45
1993/94	.309	5,007	8,478	13,485	5,954	7,978	13,932	53	45
1994/95	.368	9,009	8,659	17,668	6,649	9,520	16,169	46	44
1995/96	.400	8,260	9,504	17,764	5,002	9,044	14,046	24	44
1996/97	.363	8,288	9,982	18,270	2,255	9,989	12,244	27	43
1997/98	—	6,820	14,475	21,295	2,965	11,475	14,400	47	42
1998/99	—	8,016	11,990	20,006	N/A	N/A	—	N/A	N/A

HDI = Human development index
Sources: Ministry of Finance, 1995, 1996, 1997; Planning Commission, 1991; UNDP, 1998.

In the fiscal years 1995/96 and 1996/97, however, the proportion of the development budget for the primary education sub-sector dropped to the unexpectedly low levels of 24% and 27% respectively, while the allocations in these years remained approximately the same, indicating that the GOB had fulfilled its budgetary obligation to the sub-sector. The proportion of development expenditure for primary education dropped by 44%—from 68% in 1994/95 to 24% in 1995/96. In fact, while the allocation in the same years increased slightly to US$190 and US$192 million respectively, the utilization of the funding declined, indicating that it could not be spent as expected.

The low expenditure resulted from the new World Bank conditions related to disbursement of development funds for textbooks because of dissatisfaction with the procurement procedures followed by the GOB. The Bank insisted that the gov-

ernment should follow either international or local competitive bidding procedures. The annual disbursement of World Bank funds allocated to GEP grew steadily until 1994/95, reaching an annual disbursement level of US$60 million, but then declined and recorded its lowest level in 1995/96 when it should have increased further. Since the primary education sub-sector is geared to providing basic education for the children of the poor, a significant decline in development expenditure is bound to cause operational difficulties and a decline in sub-sector performance.

TABLE 2. Trends in Bangladesh's Human Development Index (HDI) ranking

Fiscal year	HDI	HDI ranking	HDI males	HDI females	Difference HDI ranking/GDP per capita ranking
1991/92	0.185	135	N/A	N/A	+15
1992/93	0.189	147	N/A	N/A	+13
1993/94	0.309	146	N/A	N/A	-03
1994/95	0.368	144	N/A	N/A	-00
1995/96	0.400	N/A	0.446	0.333	N/A
1996/97	0.363	N/A	0.442	0.318	N/A

Source: UNDP, 1998.

The Human Development Index (HDI) for Bangladesh has been declining alarmingly during the last four to five years. Table 2, which presents the HDI for 1991–97, shows that it increased from 0.185 (1991/92) to 0.400 (1995/96) but declined to 0.363 in 1996/97. The drop was sharper for females than for males, declining from 0.333 in 1995/96 to 0.318 in 1996/97. The negative trend in the difference between the HDI ranking and the GDP per capita ranking indicates that the government failed to translate increased GDP into human resource development.

The HDI in a given year is the result of investment during the previous few years. Therefore, the decreases in 1996 and 1997 result from the investment in the previous year and/or the cumulative effect of the investments during the previous two to three years. Obviously, when fewer resources are invested in sector development activities, the weaker sections of the population are likely to be the worst affected, particularly girls, because of the emphasis on gender equality in project inputs in the sub-sector in Bangladesh.

From project to sector support approach

The decline in disbursement and the slowing down of the ongoing GEP, as well as the huge resource gap due to the delay in commissioning the follow-up project or programme, coincided with a strategic shift in the World Bank from a project to a sec-

tor support approach, with a consequent demand by the Bank and some of the bilateral agencies that this approach be adopted in the GEP.

This strategic shift coincided with management changes both within the Bank and in the project administration in Bangladesh. In the Bank, these changes took place between 1995 and mid-1997.

The consequence of these changes was that the well-performing sub-sector, which was over-achieving its targets, suddenly faced serious operational difficulties both in the Bank and in the Project Co-ordination Unit. This was reinforced by the fact that the new Bank management failed to establish good working relations with staff at its Resident Mission who were responsible for the project. Furthermore, the management imposed new conditions in the middle of the project and insisted on introducing the sector support approach for the follow-up project at a time when the government was not ready for this sudden change in the modality of financing.

For the GOB, the new approach implied harmonizing the entire project aid and development budget mechanism, which involved the Economic Relations Division, the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Finance. Considering the gravity of the proposed change, the GOB organized a special seminar at which the World Bank mission was invited to explain the new approach. The State Secretaries of all ministries indicated their difficulty in adapting the entire system to the new modality.

Having adapted its ADP system to projects with specific guidelines, rules, regulations and clearly defined inputs for project development and implementation, the government would have had to rearrange many procedures to accommodate a new approach. The 'time slice financing' mechanism requires an agreed five-year development programme, subject to approval of a detailed annual programme which is jointly reviewed by the development partners and the government and agreed for time slice financing each year. An intensive review is undertaken, in accordance with a special mechanism and reporting system, of the ongoing work and the next year's work before agencies contribute their share to the programme budget. Finally, in contrast to standard practice, the development partners wanted to review the recurrent expenditures as a basis for approving the development budget and their proportional share. This created another area of controversy as the revenue budget is only disclosed in the Finance Minister's budget speech in Parliament and was therefore seen as a threat to governmental autonomy and strongly opposed by the government.

Some lessons

This article has highlighted how an untimely move by the World Bank as the lead agency of a donor consortium harmed the primary education sub-sector in Bangladesh, which was otherwise well mobilized under a cohesive umbrella project, by demanding a sector support approach in place of the project approach. This led to a slowing down of sub-sector activities, and hampering of equity and quality improvement interventions, and contributed to the decline of human resource development in the last four years. The Bangladesh experience, therefore, underlines a number of crit-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ical issues which must be adequately resolved if innovation and development are to be the result of development co-operation.

Why SSA when the project approach is successful? The GOB successfully implemented the EFA programme with development projects and was even exceeding its targets. It was convinced of the value of the approach, which could have been improved in order to achieve even greater efficiency, for example through the development of a single reporting system, simpler financing mechanisms, improved supervision and monitoring, reporting, and procurement systems. Why, in such a situation, change to an unknown mechanism? Governments with over-stretched capacity cannot quickly re-orient their systems without neglecting ongoing activities. If they could, they might not require international assistance. Development partners should not impose their beliefs on governments, particularly in situations where things work.

Management changes. Donor management re-organization, right-sizing or downsizing may be a cost-saving exercise for the agency in question, but should not be carried out at the expense of the recipient country. The World Bank management changes brought insecurity that negatively affected professionalism and teamwork and caused severe operational difficulties. Discontinuity of professionals who have established good relations with and gained the trust of the recipient country creates psychological difficulties on both sides. Therefore, Task Managers must have job security and should voice the views of the government and their own professional opinions during the process of negotiation and reaching agreements. This is necessary for governments so that they can achieve ownership of all development activities.

Governments should not change well-functioning key personnel. It is equally important that governments realize that they will suffer at the hands of the powerful multilateral agencies unless they bring their best personnel to the negotiating table and ensure their continuity during the negotiation process. The failed introduction of the sector support approach in Bangladesh was partly due to unsuccessful government negotiations related to the change of incumbent in the key position of Project Co-ordinator.

Do not interlock funding. Governments must examine their investments realistically and should not prepare over-ambitious programmes that cannot be absorbed. They should not interlock their own funding with that of agencies and should allocate the government share for the most critical components in order to ensure that the programmes continue to run even under changed conditions. The financial implications and practices of a sector support approach must be carefully scrutinized. Bilateral agencies should co-ordinate and work together, but should not interlock their financing with that of multilateral agencies in order to avoid delays in overall disbursement if the fund-administering agency faces problems. Individual partners should continue to fulfil their obligations in cases of disagreement between the lead agency and the government.

Autonomy of the government. The emphasis placed by development partners on government ownership is in reality often mere lip service. Most partners have a tendency to control and keep power in their own hands. Similarly, no government is willing to surrender its autonomy, no matter how poor it is. In the case of

Bangladesh, the government refused to have its revenue budget examined by the development partners. Should a government surrender its financial resources for external scrutiny in return for aid when there is often opposition to borrowing money in the first place? Even soft loans are not always welcomed by people in the developing countries. Development partners must develop trust through the transparency of their intentions and actions and should respect governmental autonomy.

Say no when confident. Aid-recipient governments must learn to refuse approaches that cause delays for ongoing programmes. Changes should not happen at the expense of the developing countries. The Bangladesh experience demonstrates the failure of the development partners to convince the government of the advantages of the proposed sector support approach because of lack of understanding of its content and of preparation for its introduction as an innovation. Development partners must learn to honour both government plans and programmes and their own rhetoric.

References

Bangladesh. Directorate of Primary Education (DPE). 1997. *Monitoring report on primary education.* Dhaka.

——. 1998. *Primary education in Bangladesh.* Dhaka, Bace Printers.

——. Ministry of Finance. 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999. *Annual budget.* Dhaka.

——. Planning Commission. 1991. *Annual development programmes 1991 through 1999.* Dhaka.

——. Primary and Mass Education Division (PMED).1996. *Primary Education Development Programme 1997–2000.* Dhaka, Govern...ent of Bangladesh.

——. ——. 1999. *Information card 1999.* Dhaka, Compulsory Primary Education Implementation and Monitoring Unit.

Haq, M. 1997. *Human development in South Asia 1997.* Dhaka, University Press Ltd.

Haq, M.; Haq, K. 1998. *Human development in South Asia.* Dhaka, University Press Ltd.

NORAD. 1995. *Pre-appraisal analysis of PEDP.* Dhaka, Norwegian Embassy in Bangladesh.

Sedere, M.U. 1995. *Satellite schools pilot program.* Washington, DC, World Bank. (Working paper no. 1.)

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). 1998. *Bangladesh human development report.* Dhaka, Bikalpa Printing Press.

World Bank. 1989. *The general education project appraisal report.* Washington, DC, World Bank.

——. 1991–1996. *General education project status reports, 1–9.* Dhaka, World Bank Resident Mission.

——. 1996. *General education project impact monitoring indicator report.* Washington, DC, World Bank.

——. 1997*a*. *Implementation completion report of general education project.* Washington, DC, World Bank.

——. 1997*b*. *The dancing horizon: human development prospects for Bangladesh.* Dhaka, Pioneer Printing Press.

——. 1998. *World development report.* New York, Oxford University Press.

——. 1999. *Bangladesh education sector review.* Washington, DC, World Bank.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

MAYAN PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN GUATEMALA: CHANGING THE POLICY ENVIRONMENT

Linda Asturias, Katherine Grigsby and Theo Oltheten

Original language: English

Linda Asturias (Guatemala)
Ph.D. Currently special adviser to the Minister of Culture in Guatemala. She was previously in charge of the Unit for International and National Technical Co-operation of the Ministry of Education and technical director of the ethnographical museum. She has published on sociolinguistic aspects of bilingual education.

Katherine Grigsby (Nicaragua)
Chief Technical Adviser of UNESCO for the Project to Mobilize Support for Mayan Education (PROMEM) in Guatemala. She has held various positions in the Ministry of Education in Nicaragua and was Vice Minister of Education, 1988–90. She was appointed Executive Director of CRIES (Regional Organization for Economic and Social Research for Central America and the Caribbean) in 1993. She has authored education materials and several articles. E-mail: kgrigsby@guate.net

Theo Oltheten (Netherlands)
A development sociologist, working until recently as senior education adviser at the Netherlands Organisation for International Co-operation in Higher Education (NUFFIC), The Hague. He has undertaken many consultancy assignments in basic education on behalf of the Netherlands, the European Commission and other international agencies, particularly in Latin America. He recently co-published in Spanish *Culture of peace in El Salvador: some comments on peace education.* At present, he is posted as education sector specialist at the Royal Netherlands Embassy at Bamako, Mali. E-mail: oltheten@cistron.nl

The current debate on policy revision of international support modalities and the role of technical assistance is highly focused on the opportunities and risks of implementing the sector support approach (SSA). A sector-wide scope, a clear strategy framework, national leadership and ownership, common implementation, pooling of resources and partnership are some of the key elements of this approach, which is supposed to increase the efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability of international support. Little attention is paid, however, to the role and performance of conventional projects and programmes and how their implementation modalities could fit within this new policy framework. This might be because of a growing conviction that conventional projects and programmes are outdated.

In this article, we present some of the experiences and lessons from a project set up in the context of education reform in Guatemala. The case is considered to be of particular interest because it highlights how the government is making an effort to develop a comprehensive policy framework for education reform and international assistance, and how a particular conventional project has been supporting the national debate on education reform by strengthening the participation of civil society and of Mayan organizations in particular.[1]

Background

Guatemala is a Central American country with great ethnic, geographical, economic, social, cultural and linguistic diversity. Its population of approximately 11 million is predominantly rural (65%). About 60% are of Mayan origin and 40% are *ladinos*, i.e. descendants of the Spanish settlers. In addition, there are two other small ethnic groups—the *Xinca*, an indigenous group, and the *Garifunas*, descendants of Afro-Caribbeans. The Mayan population is concentrated mainly in the rural areas and organized into twenty-one linguistic communities in different regions of the country, the largest ones being *k'iche, mam, kaqchikel* and *q'eqchi*.[2]

Extreme poverty is widespread in the rural areas, affecting approximately 55% of the population and the Mayan population in particular.[3] The latter's socio-economic position in society can be characterized in terms of structural marginality and exclusion from basic services. With regard to education, statistics show that almost 70% of the Mayan population are illiterate. The illiteracy rate for Mayan women is more than 90% in some areas of the country.[4] Repetition and drop-out rates of Mayan school children during their first years in school is higher than 50%. Only 35% of school-age children are enrolled, as opposed to 82% for *ladino* children, and only three out of ten reach Grade Four. The Mayan population has therefore on average only two years of schooling (UNICEF & Ministerio de Educación, 1994, p. 33–37).[5]

Thus, a large proportion of the Mayan population is deprived of school education. The poor coverage and efficiency of the system are due, however, not only to limited access to school facilities but also to the fact that, historically, the system has been developed by the *ladino* political-military and clerical elite, who considered education as an instrument for assimilating the Mayan population to 'modern'

Western culture and society. The various expressions of Mayan culture and language were seen as obstacles to development and have been subjected to efforts at elimination through structural exploitation, discrimination, racism and oppression. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Mayan people and their leaders criticize the education system for being alienating and unresponsive to their own problems, interests and needs.

Government policy framework

The return to democratic elections in 1986 led to major political changes in Guatemala. Already in 1985 the Constituent Assembly had recognized the cultural diversity of the country and the indigenous population's right to education. The negotiation process between the guerrilla movement and the government was initiated, leading to the signing of the 'Agreement on Identities and Rights of the Indigenous People', and a year later, in December 1996, the 'Agreement on Firm and Lasting Peace'. Both agreements clearly established the right of the indigenous population to have access to education in their mother tongue, and their own culture, which represented a major step forward in their struggle, taking into consideration that education had previously been oriented towards the assimilation of the indigenous culture into the dominant culture.

Similarly, a profound education reform was put on the agenda in the peace negotiations by the guerrilla movement as one of the key issues to be agreed upon during those negotiations—a prerequisite for building a more democratic society and equal opportunities. Already during the armed conflict, several initiatives had been taken by local Mayan groups to organize and run their own Mayan schools. At the international level, these and similar efforts received more and more support, thus reinforcing the urgency of bringing about fundamental changes in the education system. The political changes of the late 1980s and early 1990s in Guatemala provided the opportunity to take a step forward in that direction.

The policy framework for international support to education is composed of: (i) Guatemala's constitutional mandates (Articles 74 and 76 of the constitution), which state that the population has the right and obligation to attend elementary education; that administration of the education system should be decentralized; and that, preferably, education in predominantly indigenous areas should be bilingual; (ii) the Peace Agreements signed on 29 December 1996 by the Government of Guatemala and Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (UNRG), which emphasize education and training as 'essential for a strategy of equity and national unity'; (iii) the Government's Five-Year (1996–2000) Social Development Action Plan (PLADES), which contains specific targets for improving coverage and equity of education; (iv) the Ministry of Education's policies and Plan of Action; and (v) the Education Reform Design, resulting from the work of the Education Reform Commission (Guatemala, Comisión Paritaria de la Reforma Educativa, 1998).

The education reform policy aims at a transformation of the national education system so that it responds to the needs, characteristics, and present and future

demands of the population, and contributes effectively to the improvement of the living standards and the development of the country. Key concepts are participation, the basic values of a multicultural society, democracy, human rights and peace, sustainable development, education for work, and science and technology. In terms of targets, the education reform policy aims at universal coverage for the first three years of elementary education with a focus on gender equity and the rural areas, improvement of quality, intercultural bilingual education, and institutional modernization and decentralization of education administration in order to improve its efficiency and accessibility, facilitate greater accountability at the local level and promote community participation. In addition, special attention is given to promoting non-formal education for work and functional literacy programmes in order to reduce the illiteracy and unemployment rates among out-of-school young people and adults (Guatemala, Asamblea Nacional Constituyente, 1985; Guatemala, Ministerio de Educación, 1996, 1998; Universidad Rafael Landívar et al., 1998; Guatemala, Secretaría de Planificación, 1997).

International support for educational policies and planning has been and continues to be of the utmost importance for education reform. Assistance from funding and technical assistance agencies has made it possible to undertake analyses of various policy areas, as well to strengthen the planning capacity of the ministry and reorganize its Planning Unit. Staff at the central and departmental levels have undergone specialized training abroad and in Guatemala in order to improve educational planning. A team of international specialists was hired to help the ministry in strengthening the policy and planning aspects in various technical and administrative areas.

Furthermore, multilateral and bilateral agencies support, mainly through technical assistance, the Consultative Commission on Educational Reform, whose objective is to implement reform. Its members have organized themselves into six technical sub-commissions—for curriculum reform, intercultural and multicultural education, human resources, social mobilization, legal issues, and the National Plan of Education 2000–2020. In order to co-ordinate curriculum change at the teacher training centres (*Escuelas Normales*), the Ministry of Education created a Steering Committee for Curricular Transformation. This committee is composed of representatives from internationally supported projects which have curricular transformation of *Escuelas Normales* as a line activity or component on their agenda, as well as representatives of other key organizations such as the Association of Mayan Educational Centres.

The Ministry of Education is responsible for negotiating international support programmes geared to the education sector. In 1996, it created a unit, Unidad de Coordinación Nacional e Internacional del Ministerio de Educación (UCONIME), to negotiate and co-ordinate all national and international assistance to education in order to improve its effectiveness and ensure its coherence with the educational policy framework. The results to date are encouraging as all national and international assistance has been channelled through UCONIME since its creation and supports the priorities of the ministry. Since early 1999, project proposals have been analysed by a Project Review Committee in the light of the government's policy pri-

orities. The members of the committee are the Administrative Vice-Minister and delegates of the Planning Unit, the International Co-operation Unit, the Directorate General of Intercultural Bilingual Education (DIGEBI), the Unit for Curriculum Improvement (SIMAC), the Directorate General of Out-of-School Education (DIGEEX) and the Unit for Financial Administration.

The case of PROMEM

PROMEM, the Project to Mobilize Support for Mayan Education (*Proyecto Movilizador de Apoyo a la Educación Maya*), was initiated in a socio-political context characterized by the first decade of democratic government in Guatemala. This followed a long tradition of military dictatorships and civil war that have shaken and left their marks on the structure and stability of Guatemalan society and the people of Guatemala. Violation of human rights and crimes against humanity, genocide and massacres have been common practice for many years and have resulted in the killing or disappearance of an unknown number of people. Furthermore, significant numbers of Mayan families have been displaced or become refugees.

The political changes of the past ten years have made it possible for civil society to play a more active and representative role in matters of public interest. Although the elite interests of the *ladino* population are still key political players, others have assumed a role, in particular non-governmental organizations and other non-traditional parties emanating from the former guerrilla movement, the peasants and agricultural and industrial workers' unions. From 1986 onwards, civil society and the indigenous population have gradually been seizing the opportunities of the emerging political and democratic environment and have strengthened their participation in various activities in fulfilment of their legitimate rights.[6]

One of the major accomplishments was the creation in 1993 of the Council of Mayan Education of Guatemala (CEM-G) as a representative body of twenty-eight non-governmental organizations committed to the promotion and development of the culture, language and education of the Mayan population. It gradually evolved into a federal association of Mayan institutions and organizations called the National Council of Mayan Education, *Consejo Nacional de Educación Maya* (CNEM). In September 1996, CNEM was legally recognized as a civil society organization with its own internal rules and regulations. At present, it is regarded as a consultative, autonomous and leading body for Mayan education in Guatemala, composed of some twenty-six non-governmental organizations and two government organizations, including DIGEBI and the Academy of Mayan Languages (ALM).

The First National Congress of Mayan Education was held in August 1994 with the support of the Ministry of Education and the active co-operation of UNESCO. More than 250 Mayan participants from some eighty institutions and representing all language and ethnic groups attended the gathering, which provided an opportunity to discuss publicly the state of Mayan education. The National Council of Mayan Education published the conclusions, recommendations and resolutions of the Congress, which were implemented with financial support from the

Government of the Netherlands and technical assistance from UNESCO. This led to the initiation of PROMEM.

OBJECTIVES AND RELEVANCE

The first objective of PROMEM was to contribute to the strengthening of the National Council of Mayan Education, its member organizations and other government and non-governmental institutions working in Mayan education. The second objective was to engage in, in forty Local Units of Mayan Education (ULEM), innovative educational practices for which research and experimentation, curriculum development, elaboration of educational materials and teacher training were the key components. The third objective was to develop a proposal for a Mayan university, to implement processes and mechanisms to establish a Mayan system of education, and to systematize the education experiences of the forty ULEM.

PROMEM became operational in December 1995 for an initial period of three years with a total budget of US$1.8 million. At the end of the first phase in August 1998 the Government of the Netherlands authorized an extension phase for ten months, during which a new project document for the second phase was prepared. It was based on the results of an external evaluation undertaken six months before the termination of the first phase and on a participatory process involving stakeholders and beneficiaries. The contents of the new project document therefore expressed the consensus of all parties involved. The Government of the Netherlands approved the second phase as of 1 July 1999, with a financial contribution of US$3.8 million for a terminal period of three more years.

The general objective of PROMEM during the second phase is to strengthen the development of Mayan education as a major contribution to the construction of a multilingual, multiethnic and multicultural Guatemalan nation within the framework of the peace process and the education reform. The first specific objective is to support the process of education reform through the formulation of public policies concerning Mayan education, in particular: (i) the elaboration of a proposal for the incorporation of Mayan science, culture and pedagogy, and of intercultural education at the different levels of the school system; (ii) the reinforcement of the institutional capacity of the Ministry of Education to implement the education reform; and (iii) the promotion of the active participation of schools, families and communities in the process of education reform.

The second objective is to strengthen the institutional capacities of the member organizations of CNEM, particularly at the community level, in order to ensure its technical and financial sustainability in the medium and long term. The third objective is to elaborate a policy and strategy proposal for Mayan education which would be validated through the educational practice of the ULEM and of other Mayan schools which form part of educational networks in twelve linguistic communities covered by the project. The fourth objective is to participate in the establishment of a programme of pre-primary- and primary-school teacher training as well as training of trainers from official and private (community-owned) teacher

73

training institutions, community animators, and grassroots leaders of the member organizations of CNEM.

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR IMPLEMENTATION

PROMEM co-ordinates its efforts both with a government/state institution and with a group of non-governmental organizations from civil society. The Ministry of Education acts as the project's executing entity through Support to the National System for Improvement and Adaptation of the Curriculum (SIMAC), DIGEBI, DIGEEX and the Departmental Directorates of Education (DDE). Furthermore, CNEM and its twenty-eight member organizations constitute a national counterpart. In addition, PROMEM has a diverse and extensive network of institutional partners from the public and private sectors, as well as community-based groups and organizations.

This particular institutional framework provides the opportunity to promote a constructive dialogue between the two parties concerning key issues which could otherwise generate conflict. In the case of Guatemala, and particularly when working with the indigenous (in this case Mayan) population, it is crucial to create opportunities for them to take part in dialogue, express opinions and take joint actions in order to support the wider process of society-building and the promotion of stable development on a democratic basis.

PROMEM has established important relations with different state entities, institutions and organizations from civil society. Likewise, with the support of PROMEM, CNEM has developed a regular political dialogue with the Parliament's Presidents of the Education Committee and of the Committee for Indigenous and Peace Issues. For example, with the support of PROMEM, CNEM presented the following resolution proposal to Parliament:

(a) That the promotion of research and development of Mayan, Garifuna and Xinca education should be declared of national interest;
(b) That the Ministry of Education should be requested to strengthen its education programmes for the indigenous population;
(c) That an appeal to the international community should be made in order to continue supporting the efforts carried out by different organizations and institutions in this field. The resolution (No. 32–97) was unanimously approved by Parliament on 9 September 1997. The participation of CNEM representatives in the work of the Joint Commission on Educational Reform and the Consultative Commission on Educational Reform is another indication of its role at the national level.

The diversity of experiences, approaches, interests and aspirations that CNEM represents constitutes a challenge, but also a richness and one of its fundamental strengths, since pluralism of ideas and encouragement of independent critical thinking are essential characteristics of the organization. As a result, it is expected that a new social contract will be established between the State (the Ministry of Education)

and civil society in order to achieve shared responsibility as a key element of good governance, democratization and social development.

PROMEM support to the Ministry of Education has focused on institutional reinforcement within the framework of its modernization and decentralization policy. A Co-operation Agreement was signed in 1997 between PROMEM and the ministry concerning four major components which were to be developed jointly with DIGEBI. The first one was an organizational study of DIGEBI at the central, departmental and local levels, aimed at identifying its main inconsistencies and malfunctioning in order to propose necessary structural and functional adjustments. On this basis, a post-profile study was conducted in order to design the necessary strategies to maximize the efficiency of DIGEBI staff at the central and departmental levels. Furthermore, a Human Resources Development Plan was developed in order to strengthen the national capacity of DIGEBI to regulate and monitor the government's policies in bilingual and intercultural education.

The second component was to systematize teachers' innovative educational practices in nine official bilingual schools associated with ULEM. The third component was the implementation of a programme for trainers of pre-primary and primary-school bilingual teachers from community and official teacher training institutions. The fourth component was to support the education reform process in Mayan, bilingual and intercultural education, which was co-ordinated by the Ministry of Education.

PROMEM's contribution is ensured through the support for innovative education practices in sixty ULEM. For the second phase of the project, the units have been selected through participatory community diagnosis and with the direct involvement of CNEM and the local ministry structures. Both the processes and the results of the practices are registered and systematized by ULEM. Together with the results from applied research focusing on contents and methodologies, they constitute the basis for the design of proposals for guidelines, policies and strategies for Mayan education, which are to be incorporated into the education system reform efforts.[7]

In Ajaaw Tucur, a community-controlled school created on the initiative of parents and community members in order to offer education to their children in their own language and culture, an ordinary school day begins with the students congregated in a circle from where the Mayan sacred calendar is observed. The teacher explains that today is the day *No'j*, which according to the Mayan calendar represents intelligence, memory, good ideas, creative talent, wisdom and harmony.

During the mathematics class they discuss how the ancient Mayas used various forms to interpret the universe, one of them being the *Cholq' ij*, or sacred calendar of 260 days. Each day in the Mayan sacred calendar inspires their activities in everyday life. The children read in their mother language about how the Mayas began to use a numeration system, which implied the mathematical concept of zero, an exceptional contribution to humanity. Organized in groups, they do exercises using the 'vigesimal' system established by the ancient Mayas and still in use. With a highly skilled weaver as their tutor, the children produce textiles. This is one of the

sixty ULEM that are currently developing new forms of organizing the learning process with the aim of revitalizing Mayan language and culture.

At the same time, a community management approach has been developed in support of the local Mayan education movement which encourages the active participation of parents, women, authorities, local leaders, and other programmes and organizations, thus generating a synergy of efforts at the local level. In order to ensure an exchange of experience among the ULEM and education networks as well as ownership by local communities, a communication strategy has been developed using the local forms which reflect Mayan culture and values, such as the community radio, Mayan arts, theatre, music and dance, and weaving.

In order to mobilize efforts, initiatives and resources at the local level, the project relies on a group of animators under contract with PROMEM who are appointed to the different linguistic communities selected. The animators' role is to facilitate co-ordination, co-operation and mutual understanding with local authorities, institutions, organizations, programmes and projects; to accompany and provide technical support to the ULEM; and to support local organizations in training activities, management and networking of field activities.

Another important aspect is the PROMEM strategy of co-ordination with other projects, programmes and institutions, including universities, in order to encourage dialogue, co-operation, mutual understanding and respect. Thus, each member agency provides technical and/or financial assistance to the different technical sub-commissions created by the Consultative Commission on Education Reform. Likewise, according to its area of concentration and/or specialization, each member agency has been designated as the lead agency of the technical sub-commission in which it participates—in the case of PROMEM, that of multi- and intercultural education. These and other issues of common interest are discussed at monthly meetings of the Inter-Agency Education Network and the Ministry of Education. The meetings are chaired in rotation by one of the agencies and, depending on the agenda, institutions such as CNEM are invited to participate.

In addition to promoting political dialogue and consensus-building, the project places emphasis on strengthening national capacity as one of the key factors for ensuring sustainability. Importance is attached to the creation and reinforcement of the technical and managerial capacities of the Mayan organizations and institutions as well as those of the Ministry of Education, particularly DIGEBI and DDE, in order to increase their ability to effectively undertake their functions, solve problems, achieve objectives and manage the process of change.

In order to make a substantial contribution to developing coherent and comprehensive proposals for Mayan education, local professional staff are encouraged to promote communication, collaboration and co-ordination of efforts with the different entities of the Ministry of Education, non-governmental institutions and grassroots organizations. Among their key functions are supporting, facilitating and accompanying processes as well as offering advice and assistance. The main purpose is for local professional staff to develop policies and strategies, formulate proposals, facilitate and shape processes, and promote team working and capacity build-

ing. Short-term specialized consultancy is used, when required, to assist in the development of policies and strategies, formulate technical, specialized issues, and monitor and evaluate activities. It is oriented towards team-working, facilitating processes and capacity-building. Considering that the main focus of PROMEM is Mayan education, it is advantageous to use consultants from within the country or the region, particularly from multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual countries in Latin America such as Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru and Mexico.

Lessons learned

PROMEM would largely fit within a SSA policy framework since it is clearly embedded in the education reform policy. Its objectives, line activities and implementation modalities have been defined in close consultation with the main stakeholders, who are accountable for implementation. Long-term international technical assistance is minimized and local and regional expertise is made available. The international budget is, however, managed by the project and UNESCO. According to the different parties involved, this modality is the most convenient one since it reinforces PROMEM's role and mandate.

PROMEM can be regarded as a supporting mechanism to facilitate external financial and technical support, providing additional opportunities for a variety of stakeholders to contribute to the policy debate and the implementation of education reform. Local ownership and partnership are guiding principles and, despite many kinds of constraints related to institutional capacity and leadership, there is strong evidence of positive results. The constraints should be faced as challenges and require priority attention in the design of project proposals.

As a result of the recent political developments, an institutional environment is emerging which makes it possible to further develop and orient the policy debate on the basis of permanent dialogue with the different stakeholders, including those who have otherwise been excluded, such as Mayan community-based organizations. The support modality and implementation strategy of PROMEM, i.e. to promote and strengthen mechanisms for consultation, planning, co-ordination and feedback, have proved to be instrumental in this context.

PROMEM clearly demonstrates the importance of technical assistance and the changing role of (inter)national experts, consultants and professionals assigned to the project. The implications of the education reform are far-reaching and politically very sensitive. In view of Guatemala's recent history, the importance of national reconciliation must be taken into account when assessing opportunities and constraints for sustainable educational innovation and change.

This, to a large extent, determines the scope and latitude for the constructive functioning of technical assistance. Specific skills for negotiation and assessment, respect for the partner organizations and institutions, and awareness of one's own position within this complex cultural and political reality, are essential for contributing effectively to the change process. Team-building and staff training to further internalize the basic principles of the education reform and, within that frame-

work, the specific role and mandate of the project are essential steps for fully understanding the project's mission.

In general terms, the ground has been prepared for projects to tie in with the SSA policy framework. The Inter-Agency Education Network—established as a mechanism for co-ordination among international agencies with the participation of government officials and non-governmental representatives—can assist in overcoming aid fragmentation by increasing the effectiveness of long-term assistance. Furthermore, the education sector reform process could in the medium term result in a SSA to education in Guatemala. However, certain constraints must be overcome for a SSA policy framework to be effective:

1. A clear policy or strategic framework for the education sector must be developed in concert with the public at large and with the indigenous population and key stakeholders in particular. The Master Plan of Education, which is in the process of being elaborated under the co-ordination of the Ministry of Education, could lead to policy implementation through a SSA if it is formulated and agreed upon by consensus. However, the still rather fragile democratic tradition could put this possibility at risk. Although there are indications that the education reform process will continue, achievements under the former administration must be officially recognized in order to keep up the momentum of the process of consultation and dialogue between the government and civil society.
2. The education budget must clearly reflect the priorities agreed upon through consultation with, and the participation of, civil society. Since the signing of the Peace Agreements, considerable efforts have been made by the Ministry of Education to promote bilingual intercultural education. Many of these activities, however, are financed through the projects implemented by international agencies, for example provision of educational materials and textbooks, curriculum design and elaboration, bilingual teacher training and training of administrative personnel in charge of bilingual intercultural education. Therefore, the government must show not only a clear political will to promote bilingual intercultural education, but also its capacity to gradually absorb the cost in order to ensure sustainability, accountability and ownership.
3. From the perspective of non-governmental organizations and Mayan organizations, the implementation of a SSA policy framework raises a number of questions. How to ensure that the policies to promote Mayan, bilingual and intercultural education are supported by the government? How to guarantee the accountability and transparency of the government system? Is the government ready to abandon its top-down management style in favour of genuine participation by key stakeholders? Do sufficient capacities exist at the departmental and local levels for them to take full responsibility for Mayan, bilingual and intercultural education within the process of modernization and decentralization?
4. Successful implementation of a SSA policy in Guatemala would require a serious assessment of the political, social and institutional opportunities and risks

undertaken, in consultation with the various parties involved. It is highly likely that the different stakeholders have divergent perceptions of these opportunities and risks. This must be taken into serious consideration by the international agencies in their endeavours to implement new support modalities. Specific measures need to be agreed upon to ensure the active and direct participation of civil society in SSA policy discussions and decisions.

5. Funding and technical assistance agencies must be ready to accept one of the consequences of the new policy thinking, i.e. the need to harmonize certain basic administrative principles and criteria regarding management of financial and technical support. This is because the current situation of administrative incompatibility seriously impedes efficient use of the support provided by the agencies.
6. Implementation of the SSA modality would require a shared vision among the members of the international donor community, the government and civil society about how to optimize the comparative advantages of the international support provided so far, from both a technical and a financial point of view. In order to enhance such a shared vision, international agencies should be prepared to support the development of a common agenda under the leadership of the government. Unfortunately, it is not always clear that individual agencies are willing to do so.

The primary consideration as regards most of these constraints is how international support is perceived by the different partners. There is strong evidence that PROMEM is appreciated by the government and CNEM because of its intermediary, bridging and facilitating role. PROMEM support means assisting the Mayan organizations in their efforts: (i) to present their point of view regarding education reform; (ii) to capitalize on their own education experiences and to share them with others; and (c) to build up a team of professionals to support the collaborating organizations and institutions. The evolution of Mayan education and the Mayan perspective on education reform have been clearly promoted by PROMEM as a key issue in the overall policy debate on bilingual and intercultural education. In fact, the Mayan organizations would be well prepared to participate effectively in the preparation of a sector support programme.

Issues and questions

Conventional projects could and should continue to play an important role also within a SSA policy framework, not only as generators of new ideas, but also as meeting points, bridges or mediators between the different stakeholders. Under social and political circumstances such as those in Guatemala, the development and strengthening of inter-institutional linkages are particularly important and represent a major challenge to creating opportunities for constructive dialogue and consensus-building. How will this important role be taken up within the SSA? In other words, are there any other instruments to promote and facilitate the effective and collaborative involvement and participation of civil society organizations and the various

units within the government administrative structures in the development and implementation of sector support programmes of education reform?

The development of an effective policy framework for sector support in education by the international community is a rather complex process which needs a solid basis and should not be hastily introduced. The development of the new approach should be based on lessons from conventional projects and from sector support programmes which have been applied elsewhere. In the case of Guatemala, a policy framework for education reform has already been developed, civil society organizations are increasingly involved in the process, and the international donor community is committed to supporting it.

In the present conditions in Guatemala, it is questionable whether the application of the SSA policy framework as a new support modality would significantly improve the efficiency and efficacy of international support and lead to more accountability and sustainability. The relevance and impact of international support depend on its linkage with policy developments and priorities. The key issue is how to define the substance of international support. Funding mechanisms and procedures should be looked at as a secondary issue. The PROMEM experience shows that ownership and accountability are promoted through participatory planning, implementation and evaluation of project activities, and this modality has been effective in achieving project objectives.

How would the SSA modality be perceived by the Mayan organizations as compared with the current project and programme modality? While the organizations regard PROMEM as their own project for which they are responsible, introducing the SSA policy would require solid democratic mechanisms for consultation and negotiation with civil society, and with the Mayan population in particular, in order to have the same effect. Although significant progress has already been made, mechanisms must be further strengthened. The project mode has proved to be effective because of its capacity to respond to specific circumstances.

Notes

1. This article was written before the presidential election in 1999. The new government that was installed in January 2000 has continued to give high priority to the education reform initiated under the former administration, as indicated by President Portillo, who in his inaugural speech on 14 January underlined the need to further promote bilingual intercultural education. In the Government Plan for the Education Sector (2000–2004), which will in principle be officially approved in August 2000, one of the major strategies is the generalization of bilingual and intercultural education.
2. The term 'Mayan' has been appropriated by the various indigenous groups since the 1980s. According to Heckt (1999, p. 329), the development and expression of a new collective ethnic identity—Mayan identity— has arisen out of social processes and the struggle for political participation.
3. For a more comprehensive analysis, see UNDP (1998).
4. These percentages refer to literacy in Spanish; literacy rates in Mayan languages have been estimated at 1% of the Guatemalan population (Heckt, 1997, p. 21).

80

5. See also Gorman and Pollit (1992). Illiteracy rates in Guatemala are some of the highest in Latin America and the statistics on enrolment, retention and repetition in primary education clearly show a very low performance as compared with the other Central American countries (Arrién et al., 1996).
6. For a more comprehensive analysis of the Mayan movement in Guatemala during the last three decades, see Moya (1998) and Heckt (1999).
7. For a case study of one of the ULEM, see Oltheten (1998).

References

Arrién, J.A., et al. 1996. *Calidad de la educación en el Istmo Centroamericano* [Quality of education in the Central American Isthmus]. San José, Costa Rica, UNESCO.

Gorman, K.S.; Pollit, E. 1992. School efficiency in rural Guatemala. *International review of education* (Hamburg, Germany), vol. 38, no. 5, p. 519–34.

Guatemala. Asamblea Nacional Constituyente. 1985. *Constitución política de la República de Guatemala* [Political constitution of the Republic of Guatemala]. Guatemala City.

Guatemala. Comisión Paritaria de Reforma Educativa. 1998. *Diseño de reforma educative—runuk'ik june k'ak'a'tijonik* [Plan for educational reform]. Guatemala City.

Guatemala. Ministerio de Educación. 1996. *Filosofía, políticas y estrategias educativas* [Educational philosophy, policies and strategies]. Guatemala City.

——; ——. 1998. *Memoria de labores* [Final report]. Guatemala City.

Guatemala. Secretaría de Planificación. 1997. *Plan de acción y desarrollo social (PLADES). Desarrollo human, infacia y juventud, 1997–2001* [Plan for social action and development (PLADES). Human, child and youth development, 1997–2001]. Guatemala City.

Heckt, M. 1997. *Educación Intercultural: futuro para una Guatemala multilingüe y plurietnica* [Intercultural education: the future for a multilingual and multiethnic Guatemala]. Colección, CIDECA.

——. 1999. Mayan education in Guatemala: a pedagogical model and its political context. *International review of education* (Hamburg, Germany), vol. 45, no. 3–4, p. 321–37.

Moya, R. 1998. Interculturalidad y reforma educative en Guatemala [Interculturalism and educational reform in Guatemala]. *Pueblos indígenas y educación* (Quito, Ecuador), no. 45–46, p. 19–51.

Oltheten, T. 1998. In search of Mayan education in Guatemala: a review of the PROMEM approach. Paper presented at the meeting of the International Working Group on Education (IWGE), Feldafing, Germany, June.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF); Ministerio de Educación. 1994. *Análisis de situación de la educación Maya en Guatemala* [Analysis of the situation of Mayan education in Guatemala]. Guatemala City.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). 1998. *Guatemala: los contrastes del desarrollo humano* [Guatemala: the contrasts of human development]. Guatemala City.

Universidad Rafael Landívar, et al. 1998. *Acuerdos de paz* [The peace agreements]. 3rd ed. Guatemala City.

RETHINKING EDUCATIONAL AID

THE SECTOR APPROACH AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE: THE SOCIAL FUND FOR DEVELOPMENT, EGYPT

Samir T. IsHak and Hussein M. El Gammal

Introduction

This paper describes the application of the sector approach to development with special reference to poverty alleviation and education. Sector is defined in demographic, social and economic terms. Demographically, it concerns the segment of

Original language: English

Samir T. IsHak (United States of America)
Ph.D. Professor of International Business and Management at Grand Valley State University, Michigan, and President of International Consultants Inc. His areas of expertise include organizational development, privatization, managing change, and structural adjustment and economic reform. He is a consultant to several international corporations and organizations and has served as UNDP senior consultant to the Social Fund for Development in Cairo since 1994. His publications include two books and over ninety articles and research papers. E-mail: ICISamir@aol.com

Hussein M. El Gammal (Egypt)
Ph.D. Managing Director of the Social Fund for Development in Egypt from 1993 to the present. He is a Professor and former Dean of the Benha Institute of Advanced Technology, and has served as senior consultant and manager at the Kuwait Institute for Scientific Research and in Saudi Arabia and Egypt. He is the author of several books and many scholarly articles in the areas of engineering and social development. E-mail: hussein_elgammal@sfdegypt.org

society that has been adversely affected by the implementation of economic reform and structural adjustment programmes (ERSAP). Socially, it encompasses the lower strata of the targeted population in terms of education level, employment opportunities and gender differentials. Economically, it refers to income level and other poverty characteristics. The period covered is from 1991 to 2000, and the country in question is Egypt. The case described exemplifies the contribution of world and regional organizations to tackling the endemic problem of poverty and its causal relationship with illiteracy and related issues.

There are a number of reasons why this case study is important. First, Egypt has been undergoing a basic transformation of its economic and social systems, especially during the past decade when it embarked on implementation of the World Bank ERSAP prescription. The Social Fund for Development (SFD) became a major instrument in the matrix of institutions contributing to the alleviation of the potentially adverse effects of ERSAP. It was devised and financed by the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Government of Egypt (GOE), with contributions from regional funding agencies such as the European Union (EU), four Arab Funds and fourteen countries. Second, the SFD is the largest internationally financed project among the thirty-five similar institutions in Latin America, Asia and Africa. Third, it has contributed to the achievement of international objectives in accordance with national development plans. Its success in terms of goal attainment and implementation effectiveness is evidenced by the continuing support offered by national and international entities. Fourth, although the SFD was to be experimental and transitory in duration, it has lasted for ten years and is being extended, thus indicating some degree of permanence. Fifth, the sector approach as defined and implemented in this case differs from the narrow scope previously applied by funding organizations. By selecting specific strategies in an integrated plan of action, it targets a relatively well identified segment of society and focuses on the underlying causes, rather than manifestations, of poverty. Sixth, the experience of the SFD has implications for continued or modified application of international support and technical assistance modalities.

Several sets of issues will be discussed in this paper. One primary set of issues concerns the integration of basic education development in national policy, ownership by the recipient government of financial and organizational assistance, and management of aid programmes on a demand-driven basis. Another set of issues deals with the validity of the purported advantages of the sector approach. These include the effectiveness of the methods used to direct the funds to the targeted sector, accountability mechanisms, and articulation with and responses to local needs. A third set of issues examines concerns which emerged over the past decade of implementation, such as the potentially limited absorptive capacity of the economy and the under-utilization of available funds, institutional development and capacity-building efforts, the administrative and logistical interaction between the recipient government and its agencies on the one hand, and the international funding and technical assistance agencies on the other.

83

Country context

It was basic structural and functional problems in the national economy that led the GOE to commit itself to applying the prescriptions of the World Bank and those of other international funding agencies in the 1980s. These included a persistent fiscal deficit of over 15%, a national debt of about 21% of gross domestic product (GDP), a 23% inflation rate, a chronic deficit in the balance of trade, a 21% unemployment rate and low rates of savings (World Bank, 1991; Egypt, Ministry of Economy, 1998). ERSAP was devised as a framework to transform the economy from predominantly publicly owned means of production to a predominantly private-enterprise system. This required major changes in the structure and functioning of the economy, with far-reaching implications for society. The programme stipulated a number of strategies: the selling of government-owned public corporations to the private sector regardless of nationality; freeing foreign trade from all barriers, and maximization of exports; reducing the national debt and deficit-financing by abolishing government subsidies for basic goods and services for a large segment of the population; and, most important for the discussion in this paper, stabilization measures to restore macro-economic balance and efforts to minimize the potentially adverse effects on the poor during the anticipated initial period of economic retrenchment (World Bank, 1991, p. 1–2).

By 1998, most of the macro-economic indicators were positive. For example, during 1991–98 GDP increased by 95% and GDP per capita by 72%, population increased by 14%, the real GDP growth rate tripled and has been increasing at 5–6% a year since 1996, the budget deficit fell to 8%, the inflation rate was slashed to 3.8% (from a staggering 21.1% less than eight years earlier), the exchange rate against the United States dollar remained almost constant, and international reserves exceeded eighteen months' worth of imports (Moore, 1998).

The government has been on target at both macro- and micro-economic levels, as acknowledged by *Business monitor international* (Egypt, 1998), which has described Egypt's macro-economic environment as exemplary. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has referred to the reform programme as an achievement that has few parallels and *The economist* placed Egypt in the world's top five emerging markets on nearly every indicator, including growth in industrial production, low inflation rates and foreign exchange coverage of imports. At the micro level, the share of public to private sectors in GDP has decreased, thus proving that the gradually introduced privatization efforts have been successful. According to the IMF, Egypt is among the top four emerging markets in terms of the rate of privatization. Private direct investment, both foreign and domestic, has increased as a result of the newly promulgated laws encouraging investment with financial and other incentives and has provided 519,000 new job opportunities with a consequent decrease in the unemployment rate (American Chamber of Commerce, 1999).

However, the social indicators related to poverty, education, social welfare, gender issues and health are not that positive. Poverty indicators show that GDP

per capita is less than US$1,200 and that 23% of the population are below the lowest poverty line (US$1,300), 7% of whom live in absolute poverty. Literacy rates, calculated on the assumption that four years of primary education are equivalent to functional literacy, are officially put at 50%. Returns to education among the poor are essentially negative and there is a large disparity in illiteracy rates between men and women (double for women) at all levels of educational attainment. The adult illiteracy rate has been estimated to have increased during the last three decades, the actual number having increased from 16 million (of whom 9.7 million were females) in 1990 to 17.5 million (of whom 11 million were females) in 1993. When adjusted for under-employment, the unemployment rate has been estimated to be around 21%. Eighty-five per cent of the unemployed are recent graduates in their twenties and the highest rate of unemployment is among females in the rural areas (Institute of National Planning, 1996).

Although poverty has multiple manifestations and causes, its main driving force can be thought of as a process of exclusion from access to certain physical, human and social assets. Poverty measurement indicators include household income and minimum consumption level defined by relative, absolute or subjective poverty lines (Assaad & Rouchdy, 1998). The UNDP Capability Poverty Measure, based on Sen's (1981) work on measuring the quality of life, was developed as a complement to the consumption-based measures of absolute poverty in Egypt and includes the number of illiterates and illiterate women as one of its three components (UNDP, 1996). Although poverty is pervasive, it is more concentrated in Upper Egypt. One of its best predictors is the level of education of the household head. The incidence of poverty among illiterate household heads is 61% compared with 29% for household heads with secondary education. They constitute 48% of the urban poor and 71% of the rural poor (El-Laithy & Osman, 1996). Female household heads are significantly more vulnerable than their male counterparts and their ability to gain access to regular employment is very limited. Since poverty is a process of exclusion from basic services, lack of education intensifies poverty and its implications.

Fergany (1996, p. 2–4) argues that the illiteracy level in Egypt is pervasive, exceeding the officially acknowledged level, and that the concept of illiteracy must be redefined in order to include those who attend school but who are not fully literate. Applying this definition in a survey showed that 33% of the rural population have never attended school and that 88% have less than intermediate education. The levels vary between urban (35%) and rural (61%) and between males and females. The illiteracy rate among women is 76% in rural areas and 45% in urban areas. Eighty-one per cent of girls in rural areas are excluded even from basic education.

The correlation between poverty and lack of access to basic education has been confirmed by Assaad and Rouchdy (1998), who observed that the lower a household's income, the lower its expenditure on education. They concluded that the high drop-out rate, estimated at 51% of pupils in basic education, can be attributed to poverty as well as to poor educational services. Access to employment is difficult, especially for women, and increased use of child labour, estimated at 21.5% of 6–14-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

year-old children, jeopardizes the employability and level of earnings of the next generation.

IDENTIFYING THE KEY ACTORS IN POVERTY ALLEVIATION AND EDUCATION

ERSAP has a multi-faceted approach to the economic problems of Egypt. According to the World Bank (1998), Egypt has successfully completed its economic stabilization programme and has started the more difficult economic restructuring phase. Economic growth has resumed, but the country needs to spread the benefits of growth through job creation and poverty alleviation. It is acknowledged that the incidence of poverty has increased and the gap between the poor and the rich has widened. There is a need for more employment opportunities for the new entrants to the labour market, estimated at 560,000 new jobs per year, in order for the prevailing unemployment rate to remain constant (IsHak, 1997). The international organizations have recognized the magnitude and importance of this problem, and the GOE has been actively addressing the issue with a massive infrastructure programme and long-term mega-projects aimed at far-reaching results.

There are a number of players whose respective roles may vary but whose cumulative effect on the problem is worth noting. These include international organizations, regional associations, individual countries and the GOE. The *international organisations* include the World Bank and United Nations agencies such as UNDP, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO). The World Bank plays the orchestrating role. Its mode of operation is based on diagnosis of the underlying causes of the problem by its own experts, who work on-site during extended missions. The experts make specific proposals to the Bank and the GOE which are then discussed and formally endorsed. An agreement is signed stipulating for each side the responsibilities, level of commitment and division of labour. In the case of loans and/or grants, the World Bank enters into further negotiations concerning arrangements and monitoring. Financing is provided directly to the GOE, which may in turn assign certain government or other agencies to execute the plans agreed upon. The same general approach applies with some variation to the UN agencies. For example, the ILO may, in cooperation with and with the participation of the GOE, direct its attention to the training of displaced labour, immigration issues or gender equality, depending on its priorities and available resources. With the approval of the GOE, allocated funding can be targeted to a specific sector and/or to a certain group of projects.

The *regional organizations* include the European Union, the Kuwait Fund, the Arab Fund, the Abu Dhabi Fund, the African Development Bank and other institutions, which each enter into negotiation with the GOE or a designated government ministry or agency that acts on behalf of the government. Funds can be allocated to a predetermined sector or project according to the priorities of the funding agency. The executing agency must comply with the agreement and is monitored accordingly.

86 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Fourteen *countries* financed the first and second phases of the SFD, including Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. The contracting arrangements are similar to those with the international or regional organizations except that funding countries have more latitude to select target sectors and/or projects or even a geographical location for their respective contributions.

Thus, two basic features can be discerned. One is that all participating agencies act through the GOE and priorities are set by both parties. The other is that the targeted sectors or projects may vary among the donors, ranging from the very general, that is with funding being allocated, for instance, for economic development or reform of the financial sector, to the very specific, for example improving the school system in a selected area. Furthermore, the funding agencies and countries may suggest an executive agency to which funds would be disbursed and which would perform the activities.

The *GOE* is the major player in the area of poverty alleviation and illiteracy eradication or basic education. It allocates funds through its national budgetary process and is the recipient of almost all foreign funds via bilateral and multilateral agreements. It disburses the funds through its government ministries and agencies or through designated non-governmental agencies, and monitors them through its bureaucracy and auditing mechanisms. There are many international, national and local intermediaries involved which each have their designated role in receiving sector support, funding allocation and disbursement, project execution and performance monitoring. International agencies play a dominant role in providing sector support and funds, and in ensuring the achievement of the goals as set in partnership with the GOE in fulfilment of ERSAP.

Nationally, the SFD has been one of the major players in poverty alleviation and illiteracy eradication efforts. It was established in recognition of the crucial role of social funds in the fight against poverty. In 1998, the World Bank convened an international conference to study the phenomenon and assess its effectiveness and achievements. The report of the conference canvassed the experiences of the 250 practitioners invited, and concluded that Social Funds have proved to be effective in forging partnership with the private sector and with community groups to help the poor help themselves. It was documented that Social Funds are reaching areas and groups previously untouched by public sector interventions, demonstrating that participatory development can be both cost-effective and timely (Bigio, 1998, p. 4–5).

In addition, Social Funds implement international and national poverty reduction strategies and have been effective in several critical areas. First, they forcefully made a case for the importance of social equity objectives in national development and for addressing the needs of the marginalized groups as a priority both in structural adjustment and in economic growth. They have also piloted numerous successful innovations in the emergency phase and become permanent instruments for economic and social development. Second, they have effectively reached the poor, especially those communities that were physically or socially isolated, had suffered

from gender and ethnic barriers and were generally not beneficiaries of national investment projects. Third, Social Funds have highlighted the importance of civil society participation and have successfully introduced innovative partnerships between the public and private sectors. Fourth, they have developed sustainable strategies for service delivery and their accomplishments in job creation and rehabilitation or building of social and productive infrastructure are remarkable.

The Social Fund for Development, Egypt

The SFD was designed as a quasi-autonomous agency to assist in cushioning the potentially negative impact on the poor and unemployed of implementing ERSAP. It was conceived as a component of the social safety net that was to last for only five years. Because of its documented success, however, it is entering its third phase, 2001–05. The initial budget was set at US$613 million (later reaching US$748 million) for a period ending in 1996. The funds were contributed by the World Bank (20.1%), the European Union (30.8%), Arab Funds (19.1%), the GOE and other countries. Phase II, which began in 1997 and will extend to 2001, has a budget of US$775 million (SFD, 1998*b*, p. 45–55). The World Bank has already earmarked US$50 million to finance part of the expected Phase III, thus indicating that the institution is more than a transient agency and is near to having permanent status.

Organizationally, the SFD is managed by a Board of Directors chaired by the Prime Minister, an Executive Committee, a Managing Director and five General Managers. The structure is relatively flat, consisting of four levels. It is exempted from all government regulations regarding civil service laws, procurement and other bureaucratic hurdles. Its Technical Secretariat is patterned after and paid according to UNDP standards.

In its initial stage, the SFD faced a number of basic challenges. One was the vagueness of its mission. In its justification, the World Bank stated that the proposed project would constitute the first phase of addressing the immediate and pressing needs of the most vulnerable, and that the proposed investments would focus on income and employment generation activities and on provision of the essential physical infrastructure and public services. The project was also planned to strengthen the government's capacity to design and monitor future poverty alleviation policies and establish mechanisms to protect selected target population groups from the likely longer-term adverse effects of adjustments (World Bank, 1991). Such an all-encompassing mission was very hard to translate into specific strategies and operational tactics. Two, in order to put the required strategies into operation the first priority was targeting of the population in terms of its demographic characteristics regarding employment, gender, age, education and location. This endeavour was daunting in the light of the dearth of reliable statistics and competing priorities. Three, there was the problem of staffing with a cadre of specialists who were capable of initiating and piloting innovative programmes under uncertain conditions. Four, and of particular interest to our discussion, the sector support approach was relatively new and its limitations not clearly delineated. Five, there was a fear of the

risk that the SFD be subjected to political pressures which could force sub-project choices inconsistent with agreed-upon criteria and therefore jeopardize the project (World Bank, 1991, p. 17–23). Six, there was the well-known danger of different priorities among the funding entities on the one hand, and the GOE on the other.

ORGANIZATION AND PROGRAMMES

Taking these factors into consideration, the SFD designed a flexible organization staffed with talented personnel of a high calibre. Intensive and extensive training programmes were set up for every employee locally and abroad, numbering 278 during the first three years (SFD, 1996). Functionally, the SFD was divided into five major programmes (the Enterprise Development Programme, the Public Works Programme, the Employment and Retraining Programme, the Institutional Development Programme and the Community Development Programme), which were supported by central auxiliary staff units. Human resources, finance, credit, facilities and related activities were centralized in the Technical Secretariat. Each department, in co-operation with other programmes, developed its own criteria for target beneficiaries, eligibility, financing, monitoring and accountability. Operational transparency of rules and procedures was the mechanism guarding against undue political interference, corruption or favouritism, thus guaranteeing the most effective utilization of funds and human resources.

The Enterprise Development Programme aims at creating long-term employment opportunities in new and existing micro- and small enterprises. The Public Works Programme supports labour-intensive public works projects in local communities using local contractors, material and labour. The Employment and Retraining Programme provides assistance to public sector workers who are displaced as a result of privatization. The Institutional Development Programme strengthens the administrative and technical capacity of the SFD and its Technical Secretariat, and conducts surveys and studies to support targeting and goal attainment. The Community Development Programme is concerned with improving the delivery of social services, such as health facilities and education activities, to communities deprived of such basic services. The goal is to enhance the productive activities in low-income areas among the targeted poor and very poor by engaging them in the articulation and prioritization of their needs and in managing and maintaining the selected projects (SFD, 1995, 1998*a*). Of particular interest to this discussion are the strategies applied to implement the sector support approach in the areas of poverty alleviation, basic education and illiteracy eradication.

As stated earlier, the GOE receives the funding for the sectors and/or projects agreed upon and assigns the responsibility for fund disbursement and/or project execution to ministries or agencies. The SFD receives funds as stipulated in the bilateral or multilateral agreements. It selects projects according to the criteria set by the funding agencies in conformity with the national plans as determined by the GOE. Goal congruity is guaranteed through monitoring by UNDP, the different funding entities individually or collectively, and the government's auditing

89

agencies. The SFD uses a number of channels for execution of approved projects, including government ministries, local municipalities, public and private banks, national and international consultants, local contractors, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), small and micro private enterprises, and universities and research institutions. At the end of 1998, funding allocations were divided among all of these channels. There are over 6,000 sponsoring agencies and individual contractors. Since its inception, the SFD has generated about 600,000 new permanent and temporary job opportunities. There are 26 million direct and indirect beneficiaries representing every governorate in the country, but especially the targeted areas (SFD, 1998*a*).

Regarding the degree of interference in the management of the Fund, the sector support approach takes two basic forms. The passive form refers to disbursement of funds to the GOE or the SFD without interference by the funding agency in the selection of the specific projects or programmes, although it may designate a broad sector as the targeting recipient, for example health care, primary education or gender equality. The funding agency monitors performance through quarterly or annual reports that are submitted either directly or through UNDP. In the active form, the funding entity may designate not only the general sector, but also a geographical area, a target group or a specific sub-group such as primary education of girls or reduction of infant mortality. The funding agencies may suggest, or mandate, the use of their own consultants, or even equipment and staff from their own countries. The timing of fund disbursement varies. Some agencies provide the funds at the beginning of the fiscal or calendar year, while others disburse them on a quarterly, or even monthly, basis or after completion of auditing missions. Although, generally speaking, the funding agencies do not interfere in the day-to-day operation of the projects, some projects require closer monitoring. The SFD accommodates all modes of operation to the satisfaction of all funding agencies.

Basic education and illiteracy

The SFD's role in basic education and illiteracy eradication derives from its responsibilities for poverty alleviation and job creation. It is supportive of the Ministry of Education, which is in charge of developing and implementing policies for preparatory, primary and secondary education, including illiteracy. The SFD provides funds, facilities, equipment and other support requirements as part of an integrated approach tackling the basic causes of poverty, namely lack of basic education, non-availability of adequate health services, and need for gender empowerment, job opportunities and marketing avenues for products. These supplementary services are co-ordinated with the responsible channels and are consistent with the national and local priorities.

Through the use of different intermediaries, notably NGOs, the SFD has an effective medium of co-operation. For example, the Caritas literacy programme, 'Learn and be free' (Caritas, 1997), covers about 800 literacy classes serving a few hundred students assisted by over 700 full- and part-time teachers. The teachers are

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

selected and trained from among university students, thus providing job opportunities. Most of the programmes are implemented in the rural areas which have been targeted on the basis of demographic surveys as having the highest rates of illiteracy, unemployment and lack of basic services. The students are mostly females aged between 15 and 35. The two-year literacy programme has an integrated approach based on extensive class discussions. The students receive literacy certificates after passing a test (SFD, 1996, 1997*a*).

Thus the parties involved work in harmony. They include the donor country or region which has identified the sub-sector as a priority; the GOE, which has included the sector in its national development plan; the SFD or the Ministry of Education; the national or local agency which is contracted to execute the project under the auspices of the SFD; the target geographical area which has been identified by the local authority or community; and the beneficiaries who have responded positively to the project. The synchronization of these complex activities has been functioning well with encouraging results. The SFD, together with other national and international agencies, including the British Council, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), UNDP and UNESCO, and Canada, Denmark, Germany, Italy and Japan, has contributed to the reduction of the number of illiterates by over half a million (SFD, 1998*b*). The modality of support is particularly effective when the funding agency stipulates the target sector or sub-sector in general terms or with a reasonable degree of specificity at the macro level, and when it is a joint responsibility among donors, the national government and the executing intermediaries.

Policy implications

The SFD/Egypt experience has a number of implications for the sector approach as a modality of international support to basic education.

One, the modified support mechanism is a viable and useful approach whose comparative advantage stems from its specific sector focus and the commitment of the recipient country to comply with the grant or loan conditions mandated by the funding institutions. As funds are not mixed with other government finances in the national budget, their disbursement is restricted to the targeted sector, i.e. basic education and related activities.

Two, experienced SFDs are appropriate channels for allocation of funds by international funding and technical assistance agencies. They ensure minimization of mismanagement of funds, utilization of available administrative capacity and maximization of utilization of scarce resources.

Three, the integrated approach to the endemic problem of poverty alleviation has proved to be successful in the case of SFD/Egypt. Funds and technical assistance for basic education and illiteracy eradication could be an integral part of related services. Allocation of funds to education by itself is necessary but not sufficient for dealing with poverty. However, integrated in a matrix of other programmes, education can play a pivotal role in achieving economic growth.

Four, in the short run economic development is not sufficient to deal with social problems. If social development lags behind economic goals, growth may intensify and increase poverty for the lowest strata of society. This might lead to massive social unrest and political instability, which are both antitheses to the professed goals of economic development.

Five, one characteristic of the sector approach is that it seems to deprive the recipient government of its discretionary prerogative to change the priorities for the allocated funds or mix them with other funds in the national budget. Although this approach may appear to infringe upon national sovereignty, it is essential as it eliminates the risk that recipient governments will not deal with basic education as a human right in situations of conflicting budget demands.

Six, the recipient governments' ownership of the donations and/or contractual agreement is important for the success of the sector approach and technical assistance. However, such ownership is not absolute but is subject to close monitoring by the parties involved in order to achieve the goals agreed upon. This balance between national sovereignty on the one hand, and international concern and contributions on the other, is important for sustainable development as it ensures higher levels of accountability and commitment.

Seven, the concern about the absorptive capacity of the national economy can be dealt with, as in the case of SFD/Egypt, by careful timing of the release of funds according to the demand-driven needs of the targeted sector and through close monitoring of the time intervals in the execution of projects.

Eight, the sector approach and appropriate technical assistance can help in setting targets and goals and co-ordinate the contributions among competing international agencies. Since different agencies may have conflicting political agendas or priorities, UNDP or another international agency could act as the co-ordinator and monitoring agency in order to ensure consistency, avoid duplication and maintain accountability.

Nine, foreign funds must never supplant government responsibility for education. The potential danger of creating a 'dependency syndrome', i.e. once assistance stops, programmes also cease to exist, should be met by establishing mechanisms for local contributions by the beneficiaries or institutionalizing a form of co-ownership by the stakeholders involved.

Ten, capacity building and institutional development are functions of local conditions and resources. Initiation of programmes via the sector approach must consider the character, priorities and sensitivities of the national setting. Comparable local talent should be used instead of foreign technical assistance, and institutional development and capacity building should be synchronized with the prevalent cultural norms and political constraints.

The sector support approach and technical assistance have been successfully implemented in the case of SFD/Egypt. Other countries and international agencies would benefit from studying this experience, which may be adopted by or adaptable to other countries.

92

References

American Chamber of Commerce. 1999. *Egypt: the stable emerging market. A report on the Egyptian economy with a special focus on the financial market.* Cairo, American Chamber of Commerce.

Assaad, R.; Rouchdy, M. 1998. *Poverty and poverty alleviation strategies in Egypt: a report submitted to the Ford Foundation in Egypt.* Cairo, Ford Foundation.

Bigio, A.G., ed. 1998. *Social funds and reaching the poor: experiences and future directions.* Washington, DC, Economic Development Institute, World Bank.

Caritas 1997. *Annual report, 1996.* Cairo, Caritas Egypt.

Egypt. 1998. *Business monitor international* (London), 1998.

——. Ministry of Economy. 1998. *A land of opportunity.* Cairo, Government of Egypt.

El-Laithy, H.; Osman, M.O. 1996. *Profile and trend of poverty and economic growth.* Cairo, INP/UNDP.

Fergany, N. 1996. *Baseline information to plan for universal access to primary education in Egypt: trends in the extent of access to primary education by gender, governorates and rural/urban residence.* Cairo, Al-Mishkat Centre for Research and Training.

Institute of National Planning (INP). 1996. *Egypt human development report.* Cairo, INP.

IsHak, S. 1997. *Evaluation of Social Fund for Development in Egypt: report to UNDP.* Cairo, UNDP.

Moore, P., ed. 1998. *Egypt: meeting the challenges of the 21st century, privatization and beyond.* London, Euromoney Books.

Sen, A.K. 1981. *Poverty and famines: an essay on entitlement and deprivation.* Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Social Fund for Development (SFD). 1995, 1996, 1997*a*, 1998*a*. *Annual report.* Cairo.

——. 1997*b*. *Implementation completion report, September '97.* Cairo.

——. 1998*b*. *Social funds/social action programs and poverty alleviation.* Cairo.

United Nations Development Programme. 1996. *Human development report.* New York, Oxford University Press.

World Bank. 1991. *Staff appraisal report: Arab Republic of Egypt, Social Fund Project.* Washington, DC, World Bank.

——. 1998. *Egypt in the global economy.* Washington, DC, World Bank.

93

TRENDS/CASES

'DIFFERENT' AT SCHOOL: DISCRIMINATION AND A MONITORING SYSTEM TO FORESTALL IT

Ángeles Sagastizabal

Introduction

Studies on 'cultural diversity in the Argentine education system' have tackled various aspects of the subject, notably those relating to disregard for the pupil's culture and subsequent failure at school.

We have been gathering data on a factor we believe to be of cardinal importance in this relationship: 'cultural distance', by which we mean the differing levels of continuity between the cultural group to which the pupil belongs and the culture of the school. The dimension of the cultural distance is an important factor in the outcome.

Original language: Spanish

Ángeles Sagastizabal (Argentina)
Ph.D. Anthropologist specializing in political sociology and a historian. Researcher at the National Council for Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET), working at the Rosario Education Science Research Institute (IRICE) of which she is vice-principal. Her research focuses on failure at school at the primary level in deprived urban areas and in ethnic schools, and how it relates to the cultural distance between school and pupil. Her most recent work is *Diversidad cultural y fracaso escolar: la educación intercultural de la teoria a la práctica* [Cultural diversity and school failure: from theory to practice of intercultural education] (2000). E-mail: sagasti@ifir.ifir.edu.ar

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Research in this area is generally concerned with situations in which cultures are clearly differentiated—such as those brought about by migration to other countries or continents—or with aboriginal peoples. In the case of Argentina, there is a traditional view imaginatively derived from models of national organization and the paradigm of nation corresponding to the State that obtained in the nineteenth century. These are combined with contributions from the contingents of European migrants who supposedly turned Argentina into a culturally homogenous country with a small indigenous population. This view, only partly correct and applicable only at a particular historical moment in the large cities of the fertile pampas and the coast (Buenos Aires, La Plata, Rosario, Santa Fé), does not reflect the actual state of affairs. Much of Argentina is inhabited by Creole and mixed-race groups who live in the 'interior' and are culturally closer to the inhabitants of Argentina's neighbours, such as Paraguay, Bolivia and Chile. There are also aboriginal communities belonging to a variety of ethnic groups with languages and cultures that not only persist within the groups concerned but permeate Creole life and language, especially in rural areas. This is chiefly true of the Guarani- and Quechua-speaking parts of the country.

Cultural heterogeneity is becoming more pronounced thanks to: (a) growing migration, both within Argentina and from neighbouring countries to the big cities; and (b) a higher birth-rate among these groups than within the urban middle class, the latter having descended for the most part from Spanish and Italian immigrants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

People from the 'interior' who are now living on the outskirts of the country's major cities have made the problem of failure at school more visible, especially among pupils from these social sectors at the primary and junior secondary levels. The difference in educational outcome used to be confined to schools in rural areas or small communities.

Our research suggests that disregard for cultural diversity—whether out of ignorance or disdain—is a very important factor in failure at school, generating a 'cultural distance' between teachers and pupils when the standards, values, beliefs and behaviour patterns acquired during primary-level socialization are at variance with the demands of socialization at the secondary level.

In the educational field, this ignorance of cultural diversity is reflected in the scarcity of information future teachers are given about certain socio-cultural groups, although that information is vital to their successful performance in a variety of urban, deprived urban, indigenous and/or rural settings. The result is stereotyping, prejudice and discriminatory practices. A systematic study of the latter will help to promote the use of strategies and methods to overcome them.

The search for solutions: the monitoring system

An agreement was reached between the Rosario Education Science Research Institute (IRICE)—a subsidiary of the National Council for Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET)—and the provincial ministry of education to set up a system to monitor the conceptions that practising teachers and future teachers have of the various

socio-cultural and ethnic groups living in Santa Fé Province. This would provide a systematic, comparative diagnosis of how future schoolteachers picture the groups concerned. Information of this kind is helpful when devising educational policy and serves to shape the kinds of training activities, both at the undergraduate level and for practising teachers, that the monitoring system offers.

The objectives of the system are: (a) to amass and interpret data on practising and future teachers' conceptions of and attitudes towards the various socio-cultural and ethnic groups; (b) to observe and study the school practices that arise out of those conceptions and consider, from a pro-active viewpoint, what consequences they might have for the individual, the school and society; and (c) to devise teaching strategies for use in culturally diverse groups in collaboration with working teachers, the aim being to cut down on failure at school.

Current school practice as regards cultural diversity among newly enrolled pupils may be described as:

> specific, functional-type activities and programmes that schoolteachers and lecturers directly confronted by the problem in their classrooms have been forced in some cases to improvise and in others to construct.[1]

Such functional responses to a problem that the system makes no provision for—but is nonetheless undeniably there—take a variety of forms: at their best, there are schemes designed to 'even out' or improve the outcome by tackling specific difficulties. Examples of the latter are reading and writing workshops and the 'classes' run by remedial teachers. In other cases, however, one finds what previous studies have described as 'pseudo-responses',[2] which not only fail to solve the problems that unsuspected cultural diversity can generate but tend to turn diversity into deficiency by regarding it not as a difference but as a shortcoming.

The monitoring system is helping to shape a model that overrides current practice, in that it:

> pursues a combination of theory and practice based on the study and analysis of multicultural and multi-ethnic societies, and specifically the question of migration within this social setting, looking at the subject as an all-encompassing, multifaceted whole that transcends simple, pragmatic responses to local needs. Fundamental and applied research capable of furnishing models for analysis and action and suggesting the kinds of institutional backing each might require.[3]

Documenting the actual situation

In an effort to delimit the contentious relationship between theory and practice, we designed our research to be 'pro-active'. In other words, in conjunction with the teachers concerned, we use the data from the monitoring system and from fieldwork at schools exemplifying the problems under investigation in order to try to arrive at solutions.

This paper presents the findings of some research done by the system into how the mental picture that future teachers have about their pupils relates to the groups from which the teachers themselves originate. The information was obtained in the first instance by sending a questionnaire to 356 students at teacher training institutes[4] in Santa Fé Province. The form will enable the data gathered to be compared with data from other countries; it affords a means of analysing mental pictures of schools and the teaching profession.

Mental pictures of what schools are like are deduced from the ratings—'essential', 'important', 'unimportant' or 'irrelevant'—assigned to twenty-seven features that respondents were asked to rank. The importance assigned to the various features reveals how respondents picture schools and what functions they expect them to serve. The twenty-seven features, subsequently grouped under four headings, represent the following possible functions of the school: practical, moral, community-oriented or traditional role-oriented.

The *practical dimension* puts the acquisition of knowledge and development of skills foremost among the functions of the school. It encompasses the following objectives: gaining self-confidence; developing self-control; expressing oneself fluently; taking an interest in how things work; developing one's imagination; appreciating art; reading, writing, addition and subtraction; following the rules of hygiene; and developing sporting abilities.

The *moral dimension* makes the transmission of moral values—a sense of responsibility, respect and integrity—the main function of the school. It encompasses the following objectives: being aware of one's responsibilities; developing one's moral sense; defending one's choices; keeping one's promises; and having a sense of self-respect.

The *community-oriented dimension* expresses a view of the school as a place to develop the skills necessary to live in harmony with others, to play an active part in social life and be aware of socio-cultural phenomena. It covers the following objectives: having a critical mind; understanding others; being familiar with one's culture; fitting in with the community; being an active citizen; being aware of the country's problems; and co-operating and helping one another.

The *traditional role-oriented dimension* relates to a school whose function is to teach pupils to behave in accordance with the roles traditionally assigned to boys and girls: respect for the rules, hierarchy and conformity to generic roles. It includes the following objectives: showing application and being studious, organized and punctual; taking an interest in the subjects taught at school; obedience; respect for authority; boys behaving like boys, and girls like girls.

Concept of the teaching role: The options chosen are categorized under three headings: practical, traditional and community-oriented.

Reasons for choosing teaching: These are ranked under five headings: the profession itself; individual or social value; secondary benefits; success; and contribution to development.

(Possible) solutions to problems at school: The responses are grouped under three headings, depending on the degree of interaction between the cultural groups

S7

concerned: solutions that respond to characteristic cultural traits of the group ('separation'); solutions that rely on 'compensation'; and 'hybrid' solutions favouring give-and-take.

Socio-cultural differentiation. In the case described, this differentiation refers to the following groups: urban middle class; deprived urban groups; and aboriginal groups. It can be observed in:

- Mental pictures of how easy it is for each group to learn. The categories of 'very hard', 'hard' or 'easy' are used to describe the objectives set under the first question in relation to the group to which a pupil belongs. This is the variable that this paper will discuss, since it shows how pupils are viewed—especially perceptions of their potential and the skills they acquire during socialization at primary school in relation to the groups they belong to.
- Causes to which difficulties at school are attributed. These are grouped under three headings: family-related, pupil-related and inherent in the school system.
- Differentiation of ease of learning and causes of difficulties at school.
- Membership of the group: closeness of fit.
- Cultural differentiation depending on the groups to which pupils belong.

Being 'different'—what the figures tell us

The responses were strongly homogeneous, especially as regards the way in which 'different' individuals were viewed. Although the future teachers questioned came from backgrounds with varying levels of education, lived in different cities and villages in Santa Fé Province and differed in sex and age, they revealed a common stereotype as regards their views of pupils from different socio-cultural settings.

From the views of how easy it is for each group to learn, it can be seen that most future teachers recognize the cultural proximity and, ultimately, ease of teaching of pupils from the urban middle class—the social group to which they themselves belonged.

As regards their concepts of children from deprived urban sectors, there is a marked perception that they will have great difficulty in teaching not only the formal disciplines (the three R's, 'taking an interest in school subjects') but also in imparting the knowledge and attitudes necessary for personal development ('having self-confidence', 'being aware of their responsibilities', 'developing intellectual abilities'). This negative view of what teaching can accomplish, obviously linked to learning difficulties, extends to habits and behaviour characteristic of primary-level socialization within the family group, such as 'following the rules of hygiene', 'expressing themselves fluently', 'respecting authority' and socially accepted, shared values such as 'developing a moral sense'. This concept of children from deprived urban sectors matches the schools' objectives, which the future teachers describe as easy to attain among such pupils: the two most often chosen were 'developing sporting abilities' and 'helping each other and co-operating with one another'.

Student teachers consider objectives relating to self-esteem and social integration—'having self-confidence', 'being active citizens'—hard or very hard to attain

among children from aboriginal groups. Objectives relating to formal schooling are also often ranked hard, especially 'developing intellectual abilities' and 'taking an interest in the subjects taught at school'. On the other hand, reaching the objectives of 'knowing one's culture'—because it is not taught at school, perhaps?—and 'developing sporting abilities' are considered easy to attain.

These findings, grouped under their respective headings, suggest that practical, moral and community-oriented dimensions are considered easy for schools to attain with pupils from the urban middle class. With deprived urban and aboriginal groups, ratings of 'hard' predominate under all three headings, the highest values being observed among the deprived urban groups.

The reasons for failure at school within deprived urban and indigenous groups appear to include pupils' socio-economic situation, especially shortcomings within the family group; hence failure at school is connected with 'parents' socio-economic level', 'lack of means and materials', 'parents' educational level' and, among the indigenous groups, 'insufficient proficiency in Spanish'.

Among the ways of overcoming these difficulties that were suggested, the majority of those polled selected 'giving specific training to teachers who may have to work with pupils from the designated groups' and 'trimming class size so that [the teacher] can devote him/herself to each individual pupil'.

The high rating given to the need for teacher training that makes allowance for pupils' cultural diversity shows that students at teacher-training colleges are aware that their current training is based on a single culture and leaves gaps when teachers must work in multicultural settings.

This leads us to wonder whether culturally homogeneous settings actually exist today, or whether every trainee teacher needs to be given the theoretical and practical knowledge to perform in a variety of heterogeneous, complicated social milieux, such as are found in present-day societies. Cultural diversity manifests itself in different ways. As Rosaldo[5] puts it:

> Cultural boundaries have moved from a marginal to a central position. [...] Modern cities encompass ever more minorities defined by race, ethnic group, language, class, religion and sexual orientation. Encounters with people who are 'different' have become a pervasive part of modern life in the city environment.

Every day, in an interconnected global society, we spend more time cohabiting with diversity. The absence of systematic theoretical accounts of this fact makes it hard to train teachers to make the appropriate adjustments to the curriculum in varying contexts, and narrows opportunities to embark upon the teaching/learning process by getting to know the child and the community it comes from.

Conclusions

Future teachers share with society overall the basic characteristics of the way they view 'different' people. To the heirarchically-minded who refuse to recognize the

right to be different, 'different' people need to be assimilated. They are not entitled to be different or behave 'otherwise'; they must 'fit in' in order to exist at all. Schools are thus places for instilling cultural uniformity, the dominant culture being imposed as the only possible model, and any discrepancy is a mark of marginal status. There are nuances within this attitude, and in the present case it is clearly related to people's views of the shortcomings of pupils from deprived urban areas. These views are themselves born of a notion of society at different stages of development:

> Society is viewed as polarized between a modern and an outmoded sector. The latter must, with help from outside, be pushed forward so as to catch up with the modern day for the benefit of national society.[6]

Pursuing this argument, indigenous groups are described in terms of a series of shortcomings in terms of technology, modernity, urban indicators of well-being and consumption, and their aspirations to lead an urban middle-class life-style.

In the case under consideration, the urban middle class is also set up as a model for society, and the way to deal with diversity is to alleviate the 'shortcomings' through compensatory educational policies. This way of thinking makes for an uncomfortable correspondence between material shortcomings and those of other kinds: cultural, emotional, intellectual and moral.[7] A 'disadvantaged' pupil is regarded as one who has to be taught 'everything' by the school and the education system, ignoring and disparaging the cultural capital he or she has accumulated during socialization prior to primary school.

This 'shortcomings'-related view is more closely associated among trainee teachers to 'Creole' pupils from deprived urban areas—living in slum quarters or shanty towns—than to pupils from indigenous groups. The latter are seen as belonging to 'another culture', one that, although disparaged, is recognized, whereas the 'slum kids' are understood only in terms of what they are 'missing' to become like 'us'—the urban middle class—and are defined in the negative: what they 'do not have' becomes what they 'are not'. Any cultural baggage that they may already possess is thereby disregarded, and they end up being acknowledged only as representing a 'counter-culture'.

It must be borne in mind that when we refer to pupils from deprived urban areas the role of the educational establishment takes on a greater importance since:

> These are not just people with learning difficulties to overcome; they come from a universe of deprivation where they have no opportunity to engage the machinery of a complex society. School teaches children to read and write, but also gives them a sense of general culture, the rudiments of logical argument and the ability to think in abstract terms. These are the tools one needs in order to be, to do and to exist, and these various abilities together are what enable a person able to make sense of the world ... the problem here is a social one of 'taking control' of one's circumstances.'[8]

To facilitate this entry into society at large, formal education can and must provide the requisite tools, especially to future teachers, by giving them an undergraduate train-

ing in which the social function of formal learning is reinstated as a vital component of participation in society.

The prevalent view of pupils from indigenous groups is more one of acceptance as something exotic or idealized: these pupils' identity is recognized, but as something 'different', apart from 'us'. There is a markedly greater recognition of their original culture. This visibility of ethnic culture may be interpreted from two opposing and complementary viewpoints: on the one hand the maintenance of a cultural tradition is regarded favourably, but on the other hand 'cultural visibility' brings with it a burden of disadvantage, since:

> citizenship and cultural visibility appear to be inversely related. As one increases, the other diminishes. Titular citizens lack culture, while those who are more enfolded in culture lack full citizenship. To 'our eyes', we seem to be 'people without culture'. As a matter of courtesy we extend this cultureless status to people who ('we' believe) are like us.[9]

A prevalent view of 'exoticism' is of something worthwhile, provided it keeps its distance and remains foreign. This view of pupils from indigenous areas corresponds to an idealized mental picture, especially of the cultural roots that are currently enjoying renewed esteem in post-modernist culture, such as respect for nature, homeopathic medicine, traditional knowledge, communal life—a view very close to that of the 'noble savage'.

Recognizing otherness in its full sense, the 'different' person as someone similar to and with the same rights and benefits as 'we' might enjoy, implies acceptance on 'equal terms'. Constructing this kind of relationship is hard since one must first acknowledge that a problem exists before moving towards the kind of cultural coexistence in which one can value one's own identity while respecting other people's. It is, thus, a 'problem with society' about which Rosoli states:

> The pluralism [seen among] immigrants is unbalanced in the sense that the multiculturalism is subject to strong hierarchical pressures in social and legal terms owing to the immigrants' minority socio-economic status (i.e. of non-citizens), where 'different' becomes confused with 'unequal' and 'subject to discrimination'. If we seek to work culturally in a constructive sense we must try to integrate not only different cultures, recognizing them as positive, but also those othernesses whose salient features are social shortcomings and needs that must be met.[10]

The upshot, he argues, is not only 'social problems' but more searching questions concerning such matters as the outlook for a life style and the need to introduce democracy in the broad sense, i.e. social democracy that combats discrimination and poverty, cultural democracy that values other cultures besides the predominant one, and international democracy based on co-operation and solidarity.

These 'problems with society' also show up in Argentina when indigenous peoples and Creoles cease to be a distant reality in the 'interior' of certain provinces or other countries and become a nearby presence. City schools must face up to the

problem of coping with a culturally diverse student body—a task for which neither they nor the teachers have been prepared.

Discovering the 'cultural distance' between the pupil and the school, casting light upon the mental pictures of what is 'different' that underpin teaching practices, constructing institutional and teaching strategies in collaboration with schoolteachers: these are tasks that the monitoring system can perform to help make schooling more effective, in the belief that literacy—in the broad sense—is an essential tool in our society: the basic attainment that enables one to become a citizen.

Notes

1. J. Merino Fernández and A. Muñoz Sedano, Ejes de debate y propuestas de acción para una pedagogía intercultural, *Revista de educación* (Madrid, CIDE), no. 307, 1995, p. 131.
2. M.A. Sagistizabal, La discriminación educativa: un problema social, *Revista de educación* (Rosario, Argentina), 1992.
3. J. Merino Fernández and A. Muñoz Sedano, op. cit.
4. Nine institutes training general basic-level teachers were selected from a variety of geographical settings (large cities and small towns) and with a student intake from the middle and lower middle classes.
5. R. Rosaldo, *Cultura y verdad*, Mexico City, Grijalbo, 1991, p. 37.
6. M. Amadio, Caracterización de la educación bilingüe intercultural, *Educación y pueblos indígenas en Centro America. Un balance crítico* (Santiago de Chile), OREALC, 1987, p. 19.
7. Diaz-Couder says on this subject: 'When people try to establish a profile of the American Indians, they mostly end up reporting shortages: shortages of economic and material resources, of proper health and hygienic conditions, of education (and hence of culture), and even of language ability ("they cannot even speak Spanish" or "what they speak is not a language, it is a dialect"). Hence shortages appear to be one of the most salient characteristics of Indian peoples.' (E. Diaz-Couder, Diversidad cultural y educación en iberoamérica, *Revista Iberoamericana de educación* (Madrid, OEI), 1998, p. 11.
8. F. Azzimonti, *in:* F. Carbonell, Actitudes y actuaciones socioeducativos con los inmigrantes extracomunitarios y sus familiares, *Revista de educación* (Madrid, CIDE), no. 307, 1995, p. 67.
9. R. Rosaldo, op. cit., p. 183.
10. G. Rosoli, Migraciones internacionales, nuevas identidades étnicas y sociedades multiculturales, *Estudios migratorios latinoamericanos* (Buenos Aires, CEMLA), 1993, no. 25, p. 347–48.

102 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TRENDS/CASES

THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD AND EDUCATION IN JAPAN IN THE LIGHT OF THE UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION

Akiyoshi Kawaguchi[1]

Introduction

As the 158th country among the United Nations Member States, Japan ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child on 22 April 1994, five years after its enactment. In 1996, two years after the convention came into effect, the Japanese government drafted a report on the status of children's rights in Japan, and on the progress made towards bringing the country into line with the convention. The report, entitled the State Party Report (SPR), was then submitted to the United Nations.[2] Dissenting reports were also submitted by various groups who had been active in securing the freedom and rights of children in Japan, or who had participated in international joint activities to implement the rights of the child.[3] The

Original Language: Japanese

Akiyoshi Kawaguchi (Japan)
Professor of Education and Education Law. Member of the Senate of Aichi Prefectural University (APU). His main concerns are legal principles of the education system and administration, the child's rights and freedoms in school settings, teacher education, and school reform under sustainable development in the transitional countries. His recent books include: *Educational reform and educational administration* (1995, co-author), *Education law and child's rights* (1998, co-author). He has also authored journal articles, such as: Recent education law reforms and school autonomy, in the *Education law review* (forthcoming). E-mail: akiyoshi@lit.aichi-pu.ac.jp

dissenting reports criticized the state of both the substantial and procedural rights of children living in Japan, regardless of their nationalities, and found that they did not generally meet standards described in the SPR. In May 1998, a hearing was held before the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC) regarding the findings of the SPR. The dissenting reports of the non-governmental organizations (NGO) were taken into account and compared with the guidelines set by the CRC. Consequently, recommendations on twenty-two items were presented to the Japanese government.[4]

The following paper, based on this series of controversies, will attempt to clarify the level of implementation of the rights of the child in Japan and its relevant problems by focusing particularly on the school settings. To this end, we will first deal with the problems concerning common rights confronted by children in any country or society; i.e. problems of freedom, including personal liberty and equality in education. Then we will deal with the problems of the rights of the child to education peculiar to Japan, which seem to be deeply rooted in the character of Japanese education. Finally, from the global viewpoint, we will highlight difficulties as regards the realization of the rights of the child in education in Japan as we head into the next century.

Educational freedom and equality in school

EQUALITY IN EDUCATION

The equal rights provided for in Article 2 of the convention serve as significant educational principles upon which education in the twentieth century is to realize its goal. On the basis of these rights, the convention clarifies that the right of the child to education provided in Article 28.1, should be guaranteed. The education clause of the Japanese Constitution (Art. 26, 1946), and the Fundamental Law of Education (Art. 3, 1947), already prescribed the same legal principle as the convention just after the end of the Second World War. However, despite the statement in the SPR that 'all forms of discrimination against children by public authorities are prohibited' (Section 48), actual educational inequality does exist and cannot easily be overlooked.

Foreign children

Examples of educational inequality can be found among foreigners living in Japan. As of December 1998, the foreign population was 1,510,000 persons, or 1.2% of the total population. Of this amount, 650,000 came from Korea, a former Japanese colony, or are third or fourth generation descendants of Koreans. Some 80% of these Korean children go to Japanese public or private schools. In terms of mother-tongue and ethnicity-based education, the SPR, which is supposed to secure the 'same education' (SPR231) for both Japanese and non-Japanese children, does not admit to any discrimination as regards the linguistic content of education. However, regardless of their abilities, graduates from ethnic schools, with rare excep-

tions, are not allowed to attend any public high school, national university or college. In addition, as of 1995, there were 11,542 recently arrived foreign children, coming from South American or Asian countries, who needed Japanese-language education to attend public schools. Despite the efforts made by municipal governments to establish and run various schools up to the secondary level, these students have to overcome the same problems as those faced by earlier immigrants in order to succeed in Japanese schools.

Indigenous people

In Japan, the *Ainu*, the indigenous people defined in Article 30 of the convention, live mainly in Hokkaido, the northern part of Japan, and consist of a population of 30,000 to 50,000. Educational opportunities for this group were considerably lower than the Japanese average in 1993, with the rate of high school entrance being 87.4%, while that of college entrance was 11.8%. Even after the promulgation of the law of 1997,[5] the use of a unique language and the recognition of the *Ainu* culture are not necessarily secured in public education (cf. SPR306, 218). Furthermore, the problems of the rights of children to education in Okinawa, which are not mentioned in the SPR, are more complicated. Okinawa was an independent country, known as 'the Ryukyu kingdom', until the end of the nineteenth century. The Ryukyuan have preserved their original language, culture and history as an indigenous people. However, the minority status of the Ryukyuan people is not fully accepted today, and, as a United States military base is located on Okinawa, the island confronts many difficulties in educating its youngsters.[6]

Caste discrimination in education

Japanese from the *buraku* class, who are part of the discriminatory caste system which originated in the early Edo period 400 years ago, are still prevented from enjoying fundamental human rights even in the modern age, and their children continue to suffer from prejudice and discrimination today. Moreover, this discriminatory consciousness still remains active in the field of education. The educational level of the children from the *buraku* class is lower than the average with high school entrance rates of 80% and college entrance rates of 24.7%. In spite of various efforts to promote human rights in the field of education, including the awareness-raising '*Dowa*-education' aimed at ending educational discrimination, *buraku* is still an influential factor that impedes the achievement of educational equality.

Other than the above, educational discrimination against the socially disadvantaged, including children with disabilities and women, continues in Japan to this day. However, as regards educational discrimination (e.g. refusal of admission to school) due to handicap in particular, there is no explicit provision prohibiting it in either the constitution or the Fundamental Law of Education. Such discrimination is already judged as unjustified or illegal, not only in educational law theories, but in court cases as well.[7]

SCHOOL AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

The right to education

The idea of the right to education has already had a history of more than half a century in the Japanese education system. As well as the positive right to educational opportunity guaranteed by the State, the idea also extends to rights in the realm of civil liberties, such as the pursuit of truth as a 'right to learn'[8] in a child's development. In other words, social prosperity, based upon the development of the individual child as a human being, cannot be achieved without the 'right to learn'. This is already described in the Declaration of the Right to Learn adopted by UNESCO in 1985.[9] Therefore, it should be noted that 'the right of the child to education', provided for in Article 28 of the convention, not only secures equal educational opportunity, but also implies the freedom to learn. This freedom is also construed as related to the freedom for home education as part of the parental rights, and the freedom to found and/or select private schools (Art. 29.2). It is further construed in Japan as the freedom of textbook authors and the professional freedom of educators. Needless to say, this freedom is not supposed to allow for arbitrary actions on the part of those concerned. On the contrary, they should be restricted by educational principles universal to all mankind, as affirmed in Article 29.1 of the convention, and should contribute to their realization.[10] However, both the principles of Japanese public education, and the liberty required to support it, are not fully implemented due to strong political pressure. Thus, the right to education is in the process of being established.

School discipline

It is well known that comparatively strict rules have governed the classroom until recently in Japan. This has resulted from rules stipulated by the school and the strict disciplinary measures consequent upon the violation of such rules, which sometimes include corporal punishment. On the other hand, the school now faces what journalists call 'classroom collapse' in the sense that education is impeded by disciplinary problems. In such circumstances, school discipline has begun to waver. In the first instance, rules that can be administered 'in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity', as mentioned in the convention (Art. 28.2), have not been fully implemented. In other words, the advancement of a child through various stages of learning, as accepted and understood by the children themselves, should be considered a basic human right. Enacting and enforcing school rules concerning hairstyle, clothes, including school uniforms, or any other regulations on details of life in and out of school without the possibility of any views being expressed freely and/or participation by the children or their parents, amount to leaving the right to 'the freedom of expression' (Art. 13) at the school gate without any legal foundation. Secondly, educational discipline enforced as a result of the violation of regulations occasionally lacks procedural protection of rights, where the rights and development of the child are not sufficiently considered, and opportunities for warnings and hearings

are inadequate. Thirdly, *de facto* discipline often includes forms of corporal punishment forbidden by law, and could even lead to the death of the child.

The right of access to information

The right to privacy, including the right to control personal information (Art. 16 of the convention), and the right of access to information (Art. 17), are also essential for children, and must be construed as new kinds of human rights. In Japan, educational administration information, as well as personal information about children, their parents and their education are not yet open or disclosed to the parties concerned. In May 1999, the Sunshine Law was enacted, but only one-fourth of the Japanese municipal governments enforced the regulations for the disclosure and protection of information. Thus, lawsuits regarding information disclosure are often initiated, since even student records, which are part of schools' public registers, are not disclosed to the appropriate party. In addition, as the student's evaluation, registered in the school report regarding examination results, remains undisclosed, children and parents tend to refrain from expressing their views freely to the school.

CHILD ABUSE AT SCHOOL

Child abuse generally indicates physical and mental stress or neglect imposed on the child by parents and guardians. Here, we will broadly deal with corporal punishment by teachers and bullying, which is a matter of infringement on bodily security in school settings.

Corporal punishment by teachers

It is obvious that corporal punishment infringes upon the child's personal liberty and causes mental injury, and cannot be used in 'a manner consistent with the child's human dignity' as regards educational discipline (Art. 28.2). This principle of education is based on the provision prohibiting corporal punishment is stipulated in Article 11 of the School Education Law (1947). However, the number of teachers ready to use corporal punishment on children in contravention of this rule has been increasing. According to a survey conducted by the Ministry of Education, it is known that 599 teachers used corporal punishment in 1996.[11] In the same year, 2,005 children were victims of corporal punishment at school. These figures fail to represent the full extent of the problem. However, the number of teachers losing their jobs due to the use of illegal corporal punishment is almost none. Obviously, there still remains a tendency to allow teachers to resort to corporal punishment rather than to prevent it in Japan. Almost no procedure is provided to ensure the rights of the child against legally prohibited corporal punishment inflicted by the teacher. Moreover, a further problem is that an effective measure to restrain new corporal punishment does not exist. The least that should be done is that the description in the Report on an Incident of Corporal Punishment, which must be submitted to the board of education

by the school, needs to be fair and reliable. The report should also be disclosed to the child who has suffered the punishment and the parents. Furthermore, in order to suppress the teachers' violence in the school, during their training supervisors of the boards of education, building administrators and teachers, and including prospective teachers, should undergo thorough human rights education

Bullying (Ijime)

Bullying refers to teasing, threatening or exclusion of a child from the group of students, or the imposition of violence on a child. As a result, the freedom of body and mind will be under threat, and often the child's life may even be threatened. This phenomenon is not peculiar to Japan, but is common to the entire world. The number of bullying incidents at school had reached 50,000 cases per year in Japan, climbing to a high of 60,000 in 1996. The cases occur in one-third of elementary or high schools, and in one-half of junior high schools.[12] The real situation is presumed to be much more serious. In order to stop the bullying, which could be equated with corporal punishment, the culture of secrecy should be abolished in the school. According to the CRC, schools need to be more open and to include children and parents in the problem-solving and planning processes in order to prevent bullying, which is seen as having the same origins as corporal punishment. Together with the procedural protection of the rights of the child, we should reconsider how tolerance and generally accepted values can be incorporated into curriculum. As stated before, it is also necessary that a complete human rights education should be given to teaching staff from the early stages of their training.

Japanese problems concerning the rights of the child

CHILDREN WHO DO NOT ATTEND SCHOOL (FUTOKO)

There are numerous children throughout the world who are unable to study due to poverty and war. However, as the SPR notes, there are numerous students in Japan who 'do not or cannot attend school, mainly due to psychological, emotional, physical, or social factors and backgrounds' (SPR223). According to a survey conducted by the Ministry of Education, the number of children who were absent for more than thirty days in one year due to 'disliking school' amounted to 20,000 students at the elementary school level (0.26% of the total), and 84,000 at the junior high level (1.87%). Moreover, 70% of Japanese public junior high schools faced this problem in 1998. The actual number of such students is actually estimated to be four or five times the number provided in official statistics. The physical symptoms of these children include such illnesses as headaches, stomach aches, vomiting and convulsions immediately before they leave for school. Furthermore, those who are unable to go to school sometimes cite violence in the home as a problem. In such instances, the Research Collaborator Committee, organized under the Ministry of Education in 1992, found that 'today, there is a possibility that any child in Japan

might not attend school'.[13] The cause was thought to derive from the child's character and relation with his/her family, but today, the competitive system of school education, and the excessive stress resulting from such an environment are often cited as causes. The necessity for preventative measures that take account of the problem is also stated in the recommendations offered by the CRC. An increase in the number of counsellors, whose purpose was primarily to consult on and facilitate the return to school for those children who had avoided attending, could not necessarily solve the problem. Therefore, it would appear that the present education system must be reformed, so as to offer a more varied approach to education in terms of both its opportunity and quality, as based on the right to learn.

REST, LEISURE AND PASTIME FOR THE CHILD (YUTORI)

The problem of children in Japan does not only relate to those who are *futoko*. As a highly developed country with numerous material distractions, Japan may be regarded as having created an affluent society. It is true that Japanese children no longer suffer under the stress of cruel child labour that is still a problem in other parts of the world. However, we must pay attention to the worsening poverty behind Japan's present wealth. The proposal[14] by the Central Advisory Council of Education pointed out that freedom in the lives of both adults and children is diminishing. The SPR refers only to the maintenance and promotion of cultural and recreational facilities in Article 31 of the convention (SPR 232–248), but does not explain why Japanese children are deprived of the rights to rest and leisure, or the liberty to enjoy these rights. Other than these rights, the rights to pastime and recreation, as well as the rights to participate in cultural and artistic activities as provided in the same article, are not, except for the convention, expressly stipulated in any laws or regulations concerning time spent in or out of school. NGO groups were highlighting this problem long ago.[15] Their reports unanimously point out that such rights had been taken away because of education policy, based on training talented manpower to meet the demand for rapid economic development since the 1960s, and the competitive education system, which promised high earnings to those with impressive academic credentials. The adults, who once accepted this policy, placed their children into the competitive environment of writing entrance examinations in order that they might attend more prestigious schools in the future.

Moreover, the content of primary and secondary education in Japan is greatly restricted by the detailed standards, the course of study, prescribed by the Ministry of Education, to an extent rarely seen in other developed countries. These standards function as a state standard by legally binding the school curriculum in Japan. Thus, the content of public education increased, and, at the same time, school education became standardized all over the country. As a result, competition based on the amount of acquired knowledge was accelerated in order to enter better schools that could promise success in the future. Massive absorption of details and the consequent development of cram schools (*juku*) prospered.[16] On the other hand, more and more trivial school rules were enacted to manage the children's lives in and out

of school. Also, sport clubs, used mainly for extracurricular activities, were created to maintain control over children's behaviour at school. Junior high students engaged in sporting activities before and after their regular classes each day, and were consequently deprived of their free-time.

Furthermore, a serious problem for Japanese children is not only the lack of liberty, but the disregard for the importance of pastime that is essential to human growth and development. Originally, the Japanese people tended to accept the value of diligence, but regarded the significance of pastime as quite low. Among the rights stipulated in Article 31 of the convention, pastime, in particular, is cited as a significant and fundamental right for children, not only from an educational standpoint, but also in terms of securing their best interests. However, the interval allotted for pastime is decreasing considerably due to exploitation and urbanization, and children are beginning to be deprived of playtime under the competitive education system. A steadily decreasing birthrate can also reduce the opportunities for children to play, learn and grow up in a group. In addition, although the number of sport clubs based upon competition is growing in many local societies, these local societies are increasingly losing the ability to protect and foster the spontaneous formation of groups of different aged children.

MENTAL AND PHYSICAL HEALTH OF THE CHILD

As well, problems regarding the mental and physical health of children exist in Japan. It is true that the infant mortality rate and the number of deaths caused by infectious diseases are rapidly decreasing, thus reaching the health level of the developed world. However, as mentioned above, it would be an exaggeration to state that Japanese children are in a state of 'the highest level of health' (Article 24 of the convention) in terms of both mental and physical condition. For instance, children's 'cavities', poor eyesight and allergic diseases are presumed to be rapidly increasing. In addition, there are some problems, such as a lack of preventative medicine and early treatment of ailments, as well as insufficient knowledge of actual medical conditions which should be ascertained during the health examination based on the School Health Law, and a lack of regular medical examinations. Reasons for poor mental and physical health are assumed to be environmental pollution, including the exhaust emissions from vehicles and electromagnetic waves, as well as a reduced immunity to diseases caused by stress.[17] The SPR, however, mentions nothing regarding this matter.

The White Paper on Education, 1998 edition,[18] also explains that, concerning the mental health of Japanese children, approximately 20% of children, from elementary to the high-school level, are 'impatient and irritated'. The reasons for this are embedded in human relations, which account for 50% of the problem, or difficulty in following school lessons, amounting to 34% in elementary schools and 48% at the junior high and high-school levels. Moreover, one out of four junior high and high-school students stated that they often become irritated without any reason. Presently, 70% of schools are offering continuous support, through the school nurse's office, to deal with these mental problems. Further, it has been found that the num-

ber of children regularly 'going to the school nurse's office, instead of the classroom' in 1996, accounts for 12% of students at the elementary level, 37% in junior high schools and 19% in high-school. Also, school nurses are providing counselling on mental health issues within the regular health and physical education courses, as well as promoting health-consultation activities.

It is drug dependence or drug abuse that most directly impacts the bodies and minds of children under high stress. Among those arrested by Japanese police for offences related to stimulant drugs in 1996, were 43 junior high-school students and 219 senior high-school students. According to a survey conducted by the Ministry of Education, knowledge about drugs is more sophisticated among older students. However, a lack of guilt as regards the use of drugs seems to be behind the fact 12% of third-year high-school students consider drug use as a matter of individual choice.[19] In spite of efforts by central and local governments, alcohol and cigarettes are immediately available from vending machines throughout Japanese towns and cities, and Japanese students are inundated by advertisements that stimulate an appetite for buying such products. Moreover, not only adults, but children as well can easily fall into drug dependence. And, at this time, government and education officials have not initiated sufficient rehabilitation programmes for these dependants. Therefore, an increase in drug dependency serves as a further destabilizing factor affecting the future of Japanese children.

Problems implementing the rights of the child

THE RIGHT OF THE CHILD TO PARTICIPATE IN EDUCATION

Above all other rights, the basic human right is the right to education, that is, the right to learn. Without satisfying the right to education, other rights cannot be exercised adequately, not only now but also in the future. It is currently recognized that children must participate in educational decisions. However, according to a survey, when children were asked if their opinions were sought regarding school rules, only one or two in ten answered yes.[20] This means that the right to express views guaranteed by the convention (Art. 12) has not been implemented in schools. In addition, it does not seem that an adequate system, allowing children to participate in the formation of their education, exists at present. In the twenty-first century, children should be guaranteed the right to express their views in the educational decision-making process, as well as the manner in which the administrative system relates to children. Such guarantees must be made based on positive law, e.g. a bylaw on the rights of the child, and the educational common law, which are confirmed and enacted in the community. To be more specific, the above can be accomplished by allowing children to participate in: 1) the educational processes, including those dealing with violence and the issue of bullying; 2) the process of enacting, changing or abolishing school rules; 3) the decision-making process as regards discipline and educational measures; 4) board of education policy-making as related to the rights of the child; and 5) giving testimony and providing the

views of children affected by various decisions. Important preconditions for achieving the educational participation of children include guaranteeing professional freedom for teachers, as well as securing the participation of local residents in the local school decision-making process. The responsibility of parents to guide and advise their children, or to exercise their rights as substitutes, according to Article 5 of the convention, is also significant. As regards the conventional situation, in which children's education has depended on schools, teachers or administrative organs, or in which the roles of home education or parents have been abandoned and those roles transferred to schools or *juku*, a major alteration should be demanded. To this end, the board of education system should be reorganized, providing for a body that is responsible for educational autonomy in each region. That is, working with local residents, the new body should support the development and operation of the education profession in each region. Moreover, the parent/teacher association needs to be radically reformed as an independent organization for parents' participation in education. This is nothing more or less than reinforcing the manner in which parents naturally take responsibility for their children.

DISCLOSURE OF EDUCATIONAL (ADMINISTRATION) INFORMATION

Access to personal data is part of the protection of individual privacy and is necessary for the individual wishing to control his/her personal information. Therefore, the open disclosure of such records to children and their parents must be treated as an educational principle. However, it is presently the case that neither children nor parents in Japan can have access to personal data about students or their families, especially information on the educational evaluation system, i.e. student records and school reports, without providing legal reasons for such access. To make matters worse, children and parents are unable to correct or delete such information. This issue is hardly referred to in the SPR. On the other hand, infringement of rights, such as the disclosure of personal data, including the results of intelligence tests, to the police or the mass media, without the consent of the interested party, often takes place, although such information should fundamentally be protected. As a result, children and their parents have submitted claims for access to personal data on education in recent decades, on the basis of bylaws that protect personal data. Regarding the unconditional disclosure of educational evaluations to the children, central and local educational administration authorities have not taken a positive stance, arguing that such disclosures would 'damage the relationship of mutual trust between the children and the teacher'. Decisions by courts of justice demonstrate the same tendency. However, recently, some boards of education, including those in the cities of Kawasaki and Takatsuki, have enacted a new policy that allows for the overall disclosure of personal data. Parental access to data can serve as a means of participating in, or establishing a better school environment for the learning and development of children, which can be shared with all parents.

In this regard, increased disclosure of the extensive educational information in the possession of the educational and administrative organs, except for information

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

that involves some invasion of privacy or policy information in the formative stage, would satisfy the democratic principles. However, there is some doubt whether all information is fully and substantially disclosed. Examples include: the school curriculum and its standards; assessments and their standards; the standards of graduation and entrance examinations; the process of making school rules; the standards and procedures of education disciplines; school organization; school management; and staff meetings in schools and boards of education which are especially important in decision-making. The amount of educational information that children and their parents can access is of decisive importance for their participation in education and the educational administration process.

PROTECTION AND RELIEF OF THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

The rights of the child are realized only in their execution. The roles of the central and local governments are very important in executing these rights, and in fully realizing the convention in all schools. To this end, it has been recommended by the CRC that a third party organ be established that can supervise, evaluate and bring about the necessary changes needed to implement the provisions of the convention. The Japanese government has already established the Civil Liberties Commissioners for the Rights of the Child as an administrative measure to protect children from infringements against human rights (1994, SPR15).[21] However, in addition to the problems of independence, procedures for appointments and financial support, the system lacks a powerful investigative authority. As a result, the present system appears insufficient as a means of ensuring human rights. To solve the problems indicated by the CRC, the future creation of authorities such as 'ombudspersons for the rights of the child' are required as an independent watchdog system separate from the government. However, without co-operation and a means of liasing with the Japanese Bar Association and NGOs or citizens' groups, the above noted authorities cannot play an active role in defending the right's of the child from infringement. We should note, however, that some municipalities have already carried out these recommendations at the community level. If a greater number of municipalities would follow the precedent set by the human-rights ordinance, the Convention on the Rights of the Child would be well established and produce significant results throughout Japan in the next century.

Notes

1. The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Dr. Fukuyo Tomita of Aichi University of Education and Dr. Grace Lopez Charles of the Open University in proofreading the draft of this article.

2. Committee on the Rights of the Child, *Initial reports of states parties due in 1996: Japan*, CRC/C/41/Add.1, 1996.

3. Federation for the Protection of Children's Human Rights, et al., *The Convention on the Rights of the Child: ninety-five issues to be solved in Japan. NGO report to the UN*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Committee on the Rights of the Child, Tokyo, 1997, p. 181; Japanese Bar Association, *A report on the implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in Japan*, Tokyo, 1997, p. 279 (references are made to the Japanese edition); The Committee of Citizens and NGO Report on the Convention on the Rights of the Child, *The loss of childhood in a rich society: Japan*, Tokyo, 1997, p. 421.

4. Committee on the Rights of the Child, Japan, 1998, *Concluding observations of the Committee on the Rights of the Child*, CRC/C/15/Add.90.
5. Law concerning the promotion of the Ainu culture and the dissemination and education of knowledge regarding the Ainu tradition and other matters, May 1997.
6. See note 3, Federation for the Protection of Children's Human Rights, III (1)(19), p. 41–42.
7. Kobe District Court, 13 March 1992, referring to a case regarding the refusal to allow a handicapped student to enter Amagasaki High School.
8. The Supreme Court (Grand Bench), 21 May 1976, ruling on the National Achievement Test Case.
9. See UNESCO, *Declaration of the fourth UNESCO international conference on adult education, 19-29 March 1985*, Paris, 1985.
10. When outlining educational aims, the Fundamental Law of Education specifies human dignity, full development of the personality, truth, peace and justice in the Preamble and in Article 1. These could be construed to be the same as those found in Article 29 .
11. SPR (227) records ninety-eight incidences of the use of corporal punishment in 1994, and 111 in 1995. This information was taken from data provided by the Ministry of Justice. These figures have been contested, and appear to underestimate the extent of the problem. Results from a survey conducted by the Ministry of Education show a higher incidence of corporal punishment. See: Ministry of Education, *The present situation of student guidance problems and the Ministry's policy*, December 1997.
12. Ibid.
13. Research Collaborator Committee, *Problems of school refusal (Phobia)-aiming for arrangement of 'kokorono ibasho'* [the place where heart rests], 1992.
14. Central Advisory Council of Education, *21 seiki wo tenboshita wagakuni no kyoiku no arikata ni tuite (dai 1 ji toshin)*. [On an education system for the twenty-first century (the first report)], Tokyo, 1996.
15. See note 3.
16. The average attendance rate at cram schools is 23.6% of students at the elementary level, with sixth graders having the highest rate at 41%. The average for students at the junior high level is 59.5%, of which ninth graders have the highest attendance rate at 67%. These figures are taken from a 1993 survey on cram schools, prepared for the Ministry of Education, entitled: *Gakushu juku ni kansuru Jittaichosa*. Children in Japan spend considerably more time in school than children in the rest of the world. The total number of school days in Japan is now 220, recently reduced from 240. This compares to 180 days on average in other countries.
17. See note 3, The Committee of Citizens and NGO Report, p. 147–54.
18. Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, *Wagakunino bunkyoseisaku* [White Paper: Educational policy and administration in Japan], Tokyo, 1998, p. 66–67.
19. Ibid., p. 68–69.
20. Hokkaido Teachers' Union, *A survey report concerning the Convention on the Rights of the Child and implementation of the rights*, Sapporo, 1997, p. 59.
21. As of 1996, there were 515 commissioners appointed throughout the country.

PROFILES OF FAMOUS EDUCATORS

ANÍSIO TEIXEIRA

(1900–71)

Carlos Roberto Cury

On 12 June 2000, Brazil, and particularly Brazilian educationists, commemorated the centenary of the birth of Anísio Spínola Teixeira. Many tributes were paid and an effort will undoubtedly have been made to review the work, action and thought of this great educationist. The occasion was marked by documentaries, the opening of a virtual library on the Internet and several scientific and commemorative events. The basis of Teixeira's educational views was that a democratic education prefigures a democratic society and forms a core group of people who are able to see others as equals.

Anísio Spínola Teixeira was born in Caitité, in the centre-south of the state of Bahia, on 12 June 1900. He was the son of Deocleciano Pires Teixeira and Ana Spínola Teixeira, both of whom belonged to the important land-owning class. His father, a cultured man from an influential family, trained as a doctor at the National Faculty of Medicine in Bahia. He was also a landowner, politician and was held in high moral regard. His mother came from a wealthy Bahian family prominent in rural society.

Original language: Portuguese

Carlos Roberto Cury (Brazil)
Full-time professor, Education Faculty of the Federal University of Minas Gerais. A philosopher and a sociologist. Obtained masters and doctoral degrees at the Pontificia Universidade Cathólica de São Paulo (PUCSP) in the 1970s; a post-doctorate studies in law at the University of São Paulo (USP), at the Université René Descartes, Paris V (1994–95) and again in 1998–99, at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales at the Centre d'analyse et d'intervention sociologique (CADIS). His doctorate programme deals with education policy in Brazil and he lectures on the structure and functioning of education in undergraduate courses. Research covers the relationship between education and law. A member of the National Council for Education.

Anísio began his primary studies near the family home, and then transferred to the Instituto São Luiz, a Jesuit institution. He completed his secondary studies in a large residence, donated by his father to the Jesuits, who had turned the building into a school. The wealthier children of Caitité and surrounding area attended classes at the Jesuit institution until the third year of secondary (*ginásio*) school. At 15, Anísio moved to Salvador and continued his studies at the Antonio Vieira School, also run by Jesuit fathers. During this period, Anísio received his classical humanistic training from relatives and friends who came to his home. His humanistic studies reflected the Jesuit character of his education and demonstrated the considerable influence of Father Luis Gonzaga Cabral. He completed this phase of his training with a course in legal sciences. He spent his first two years in Salvador in Bahia, and then moved to Rio de Janeiro, which was the federal district at that time. He graduated with his Bachelor of Law degree in 1922.

During his education, numerous concerns, doubts and problems affected the young Bahian. As well, his own living experience during his studies changed him into an active, thoughtful individual, whose sensitivity was offended by the social inequalities he saw in the contrast between the opulent refinement in the houses of the rich and the corrugated iron shacks of the slums.

After working for a time in a public prosecutor's office in Rio de Janeiro, he returned to Bahia in 1923 with the intention of pursuing an ecclesiastical career, but abandoned the idea when he met with opposition from his family. In April 1924, at the invitation of the Bahian President Francisco Marques de Góis Calmon, he became General Inspector for Education in Bahia, a position that came to be known in the following year as Director General of Public Education. During his time in the post, Teixeira proved to be a great administrator. Between 1924 and 1927, he was able to reform the Bahian school system by nearly doubling its percentage share of the state budget, while tripling the number of places available for students. In spite of these changes, however, the school system still served only 20.5% of the school-age population.

During this time, the young inspector took advantage of the Holy Year celebrations of 1925 to travel to Europe with the then Archbishop of Bahia, Dom Augusto Alvaro da Silva, from June to September, in order to study educational reforms in France and Belgium. He visited the shrine of Ignacio de Loyola in Spain, and was later permitted a personal audience by Pope Pius XI in Rome. While in Rome, he stayed at the Pius Latin American College, the first layman granted such an honour. He then went on to Paris, where he spent four months attending classes at the Sorbonne and studying the French education system.

Undoubtedly, Teixeira was impressed by the French public school system and the debates about secularization and free education in France. The presence of the State as a countervailing power was fundamental to ensure that the school, in exercising its democratizing function, did not allow existing structures to prevent national reconstruction based upon new foundations. On the other hand, this great educationist, who was never a supporter of atheism or communist ideas, would advocate secularization as a means to promote tolerance and defend non-Catholic minorities.

Social inequality and secularization in education were two themes that marked the career of this public figure, whose main interest was the development of individuals and of the country as a whole. The school, by training persons who identified with democracy, would construct a basis upon which to support equality through educational action. To achieve this, the school, as an educational institution, had to support dialogue and participation in its own activities. To this end, it was necessary to follow the active methods advocated by the New School (*Escola Nova*). The motivation of students would lead to egalitarian educational socialization, producing individuals capable of changing the unequal or antidemocratic character of society. For Teixeira, school was not simply for the privileged. Privilege was a form of discrimination, perpetuated by an unequal society, in which individuals did not enjoy equality of opportunity and were therefore unable to develop their potential.

In pursuit of his educational goals, Teixeira met with severe criticism from the clergy in the 1930s and 1950s. In his view, the religious nature of individuals had to be respected, but only to the extent that religion should not intrude in the area of schooling. For Teixeira, respect for religious pluralism, and the right to worship and the freedom of religious expression were complementary. Religious pluralism, as a policy, respects the school system, and, therefore, religion itself does not need to be present in the school, except to the degree that religious pluralism promotes respect and tolerance. Thus an absence of religious teaching in official schools did not mean a similar absence in families, churches and in individual social organizations. Throughout his public life, Teixeira consistently held this point of view.

Teixeira was never satisfied with his own understanding of educational reforms, and was constantly searching for new information and approaches to education in other countries. Therefore, he always attempted to obtain the most current information regarding the theories and practice of new teaching and management methods. He consistently defended his comparative approach to education, an approach that made education more accessible for the people.

He read a number of American books expressing ideas about a new concept of education and a greater social and technical dimension. In his search to increase his own understanding, he decided to pursue further studies in education in the United States. As a result, in 1928, he continued his studies at Columbia University, where he received his Master of Arts degree from the Columbia University Teacher's College. During this time, he wrote an imiportant report, published in 1928, under the title, *American aspects of education*. The document outlined the way educational establishments operated in the United States. It was during his time at Columbia that Teixeira became acquainted with the work of American philosopher and educationist, John Dewey. He became a supporter of Dewey's ideas, and translated several of his books. Also, while studying at Columbia, Teixeira met the author William Kilpatrick. As a result of these experiences, both in France and at Columbia, Teixeira was greatly influenced by the democratic approach to education that placed emphasis upon a State presence, especially as highlighted in France, as the driving force behind a form of schooling that was free, compulsory, secular and public.

When he returned to Brazil, Teixeira presented his first paper written under the influence of his studies abroad, entitled, *Suggestions for the gradual reorganization of the Bahian education system*. His paper was, however, rejected by the state governor, on the pretext that its proposals were not feasible. The same attitude led to his dismissal as General Inspector of Education.

In 1930, under the provisional government of Getúlio Vargas, Brazilian life entered a new phase and Teixeira returned to the government. He immediately started preparing new programmes for primary and basic education in Bahia. Soon after, he moved to Rio de Janeiro and joined a commission set up by the Ministry of Education and Public Health in charge of studying and reorganizing secondary education in the country. Then, in 1931, he was appointed Supervisor of the Secondary Schools Inspection Service in the same ministry. Teixeira also joined the Brazilian Association for Education (ABE), and became the association's president. The ABE was a diverse movement that favoured expanding public education. As one of the leaders of the movement for the reform of the Brazilian education system, he signed a famous manifesto in 1932, entitled *Educational reconstruction in Brazil: to the people and the government*, which became known as the Manifesto of the Pioneers of New Education. The manifesto advocated the adoption of an education system that was public, free of charge, compulsory and secular. The publication of the document proved to be a decisive moment in the history of Brazilian education. The document is now considered a founding text of State-guaranteed public education.

By this time, Teixeira had rejected the religious control of education in favour of reformist, modernist ideas. His stand met with strong resistance from conservative circles, particularly those connected with the Catholic Church. The religious hierarchy and clergy at that time, imbued with conservative and reactionary doctrines, maintained that Catholicism was inherent in the national character of Brazilians. Teixeira's espousal of secularization and state control of education appeared to the church as a betrayal of the national character, and they accused him of being a naive servant of communist and atheistic ideologies. However, in 1931, he was invited by Prefect Pedro Ernesto to take up an appointment as Director General of Public Education for the Federal District. The post later became known as the Directorate General of the Department of Education of the Federal District, and in 1935, the General Secretariat for Education and Culture.

In 1934, Teixeira presented an admission thesis at the Federal District Institute of Education, where he was to lecture in educational philosophy until 1961. He became Rector of the Federal District University in 1935, where he attempted to introduce an exemplary spirit of dynamism, modernism and democracy. He invited well-known Brazilian professors, as well as European professors, especially from France. The reforms he proposed for the university were so extensive that they became incompatible with the New State (*Estado Novo*) dictatorship.

At that time, Teixeira joined forces with other liberal, democratic and even socialist educationists in an effort to introduce the principle of education as a right into the 1934 constitution. These efforts were to lead to a new chapter in Brazilian education, admitting the principles of free, compulsory primary school, the manda-

tory allocation of resources for education and the notion of a national education plan derived from national guidelines for Brazilian education.

Apart from this battle over principles, Teixeira, whether in Bahia or in Rio de Janeiro, brought his innovating influence to bear in the educational sector both as an administrator and as a teacher. He became Professor of Educational Philosophy at the Teacher Training College of Salvador and at the Institute of Education in Rio. In the latter institute, he worked to introduce pre-school, primary and secondary education into the old teacher-training college, so as to combine theory and practice in the same establishment. His objective was that the teacher-training college, as part of the Institute, would encompass all teaching levels within a single, model system of education. The Institute itself was to be part of the Federal District University.

As Director General of Public Education in the Federal District, Teixeira worked with Prefect Pedro Ernesto. He acquired a reputation as an educational reformer, especially through his efforts to create a closer connection in terms of the perceived value between the curricula of traditional and occupation-oriented schools. The political mood of the time was becoming increasingly radical, leading to the violent repression of different factions of the democratic opposition, many representatives of which were jailed, including Pedro Ernesto. Teixeira was also affected by the repressive measures prevailing in Brazil at the time, as they undermined his attempts to modernize and democratize education. He was forced to leave his post at the Federal District University, together with all his assistants, and was replaced by Francisco Campos, an advocate of reactionary political ideas. In response, Heitor Villa-Lobos, the great musician and composer, resigned in protest from his post as director of artistic and musical education in the Federal District.

The state of emergency in 1935 degenerated into war the following year. On 10 November 1937, a coup d'état led by Getúlio Vargas introduced the New State (*Estado Novo*), a form of dictatorship which dominated Brazil until October 1945. Whatever democratic initiatives there had been in the period preceding the coup were repressed, controlled or censored. From 1936 onwards, with the Brazilian democratic movement suffering, though not entirely destroyed, Teixeira spent his time on other activities. By 1938, he had translated works of authors such as Adler, Wells and Dewey for a number of national publishers. Even this activity was interrupted on account of the very strict censorship imposed by the *Estado Novo*. For a period of ten years, Teixeira resided in Bahia, living either in Salvador or on the family estate, with occasional visits to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo on business. His business interests led to his becoming one of the main exporters of manganese in the State of Bahia. Also during this time, he married Emilia Ferreira Teixeira, with whom he had four children.

In 1946, Julian Huxley, the then head of UNESCO, which had been set up at the end of the Second World War, personally invited Teixeira to work with the organization as Advisor on Higher Education. Huxley had earlier collaborated with Wells on his book *The science of life*, which Teixeira had translated in 1938. His experience as Rector of the Federal District University and his time at UNESCO spurred his interest in all matters related to higher education. As a result of this new focus,

119

he was to take a series of initiatives to improve and open up higher education for a greater number of his countrymen. As part of this movement, he started to look carefully at the training of teachers, and its relation to research and the development of basic education. As well, his occasional visits to London and Paris rekindled his interests in intellectual activities, which he had to relinquish when he was excluded from public office.

Brazil was slowly returning to democracy, and the 1946 constitution revived the principles that Teixeira had fought for in 1934, in the fields of both politics and education. He defended and expanded the same principles, especially as regarded his study of the constitution in the State of Bahia in 1947. He returned to public life when the Governor of the State of Bahia, Otávio Mangabeira, offered him an appointment as Secretary of Education. Teixeira accepted the appointment, though private businesses were simultaneously soliciting him to work on a major industrial project to extract manganese in the Territory of Amapá. In 1947, he left UNESCO and took up his duties as Secretary of Education and Health in the government of Bahia, setting up municipal councils on education throughout the state. He inaugurated the Carneiro Ribero Educational Centre, a pioneering experiment in comprehensive education for young people, which was later to serve as a model for the education system adopted in Brasilia. The enrolment deficit in basic schooling in the State of Bahia was approximately 73%, which placed the state second to last when compared with other states in the country. By the third year of Teixeira's term, the school population had doubled, rising from thirty-three students for every thousand inhabitants in 1946, to sixty-three in 1949. In the same period, the number of teaching staff grew from 2,479 to 6,200.

While Teixeira favoured the State playing an active part in the field of education, he made every effort to encourage political and administrative decentralization. According to him, since Brazil was a continental, federated state, it would develop better educationally if the responsibility for education were left to individual states and municipalities. In order to offset the possible negative factors of political favouritism and a decline in the uniformity of national objectives, however, he suggested the establishment of municipal and community councils to give education a sense of value and purpose. His support of public authority, in a spirit of harmony between federal, state and municipal governments, encouraged decentralization without relieving the State of its duties. Following this principle, Teixeira defended diversity, subject to general, common guidelines and fundamental requirements, under the aegis of the federal authorities. He believed that the federal level of government should exert a positive influence in the individual states through its technical and financial support. In this respect, his views were influenced by democratic federalism. Eventually, recognition for his work and thought began to spread beyond Brazil's borders, and in 1950, he was awarded the title of Officer of the French Legion of Honour.

At the federal level, then under the control of the constitutional government of Getúlio Vargas, the Bahian Ernesto Simões Filho was appointed Minister of Education. The latter invited Teixeira to become Director of the National Department of

Education, though Teixeira declined the offer. Despite this, Ernesto Simões again contacted Teixeira in 1951, asking him to become General-Secretary of the National Campaign for the Improvement of Higher Level Staff (CAPES). This time he accepted the offer. Shortly afterwards, he also took on the duties of Director of the National Institute of Pedagogic Studies (INEP). During this period, he created the Regional Centres for Educational Research (CRPE), with regional headquarters in São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Rio Grande do Sul, Bahia and Pernambuco. The CRPEs then began conducting surveys on the situation in intermediate and elementary schools in Brazil. He also inaugurated national centres for post-graduate training, linked to the CAPES, and launched a textbook and teaching manual campaign.

These three initiatives constituted significant milestones in Brazilian education. CAPES became the main agency promoting the qualification of post-graduate teaching staff. CAPES, which is now a foundation attached to the Ministry of Education, was, and continues to be, an indispensable agency for the design, maintenance, evaluation and improvement of the post-graduate system in Brazil. Teixeira's numerous international acquaintances encouraged him to extend the experiments. He needed practical knowledge, however, in order to assess his current possibilities and advance still further. The INEP was devised, not only as a centre for the dissemination of thought about education, but as an indispensable support for educational planning. Hence the stimulus provided by the Brazilian Review of Pedagogic Studies (RBEP) and the appreciation shown for increasingly reliable and up-to-date statistics, and for the presence of researchers in several regions of the country. Working on that basis, educational administrators were better able to take measures conducive to greater equality and efficiency. These initiatives were also intended as important means to educational production suited to a large and diversified country like Brazil. They could also act as a brake on tendencies towards centralization and bureaucratization that threatened to paralyse creativity.

In line with the principles established in the 1946 constitution, Teixeira worked on the drafting of a bill concerning the guidelines and foundations of national education. He sought to make these guidelines at once democratic, decentralized, supported and controlled by the local communities. Apart from his struggle to have this bill approved, Teixeira undertook new battles on behalf of public education. In the period from 1954 to 1964, he took part in a number of national and international conferences. In 1954, he presented an important paper on the financing of education at the Tenth National Conference on Education in Curitiba. In 1956, he attended the Latin American Regional Conference on Free, Compulsory Primary Education as a delegate from the Ministry of Education, as well as the Second Inter-American Meeting of Education Ministers, in Lima, Peru. He was also present at the State Conference on Primary Education in Ribeirão Preto, where he gave a talk on universal, free public education. He took part in the Twelfth National Conference on Education in Salvador, and the First International Conference on Educational Research, held in the United States and sponsored by UNESCO. During the conference, he presented a report on the Brazilian Centre for Educational Research.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

In 1957, Teixeira participated in the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Brazilian Society for the Progress of Science (SBPC) and the Inter-state Teachers' Seminar in São Paulo, where he gave a talk entitled 'The science and art of educating'. In 1958, he joined a commission of experts on educational matters, at the invitation of the Secretary-General of the Organization of American States, with a view to carrying out a critical survey of education programmes in the Pan-American Union. In 1959, after visiting the main university centres in Argentina, Peru, Chile and Colombia, as well as several North American universities, he attended the Inter-American Conference on University Teaching in Mexico. That same year, he received the title of Doctor *honoris causa* from the Federal University of Bahia. Pursuing his busy schedule of activities abroad, Teixeira travelled to Chile to take part in the meeting of the Council for Higher Education in the American Republics. Soon afterwards, he joined the Committee of Nine of the Organization of American Programmes in the United States. In Paris, he participated in the International Universities Association, and attended the Conference on the Progress of Science in the New States in Israel. In 1961, he appeared at the Council for Higher Education in the American Republics, held in San Francisco, United States. In Beirut, Lebanon, he joined the Commission of Experts for the international study on admissions to university. Again in Paris, he took part in the International Committee for the Development of Adult Education, and in Bogota, participated in another meeting of the Council for Higher Education in the American Republics.

He was appointed a member of the Deliberative Council of the National Association of School Administration Teachers, an organization that he had been directing since 1957, at the National Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Brazil. In 1962, under João Goulart's government, he was appointed a member of the Federal Council on Education, and the following year became president of the National Commission on Primary Education. He also took part in another meeting of the Council for Higher Education in the American Republics in Mexico City. Over a period of four months, he gave a series of lectures as visiting professor at Columbia University. During this time, the university presented Teixeira with its medal of honour, inscribed with the following words:

> To Anísio Teixeira, a master for his pupils, his colleagues and his country, whose erudition illuminates education throughout the Americas; a leader in Brazilian schools and universities, whose example is an inspiration to the whole world; a man who loves knowledge and devotes his life to the progress of education and the improvement of schools.

Though he enjoyed international prestige as an educationist and held the Chair of School Administration and Comparative Education at the National Faculty of Philosophy (1957–1964), and, despite his reputation as a public figure devoted to the cause of democratic education, the Catholic Church continued to show hostility towards Teixeira. The hostility was aggravated by Teixeira's efforts supporting the passage of a bill on guidelines and foundations for national education. At that time, the debate was diverted from the question of religious education and

decentralization to that of the allocation of public funds. The controversy became a public issue, and, at the height of the debate on the role of the State in the education system, the metropolitan archbishop of Porto Alegre, Dom Vicente Scherer, and other bishops of Rio Grande do Sul, intervened in the discussion. They sent a memorandum to President Juscelino Kubitschek denouncing Teixeira as a champion of public education, which would be 'paving the way for social claims'. This memorandum was published by the *Brazilian review of pedagogic studies*, the official mouthpiece of the INEP, and Teixeira was officially informed that he was being removed as head of the Institute. In the end, Teixeira was not removed, due to numerous protests by both academics and journalists from across Brazil. When the new bill was approved, Teixeira published a famous article in which he expressed his appreciation for the bill's passage. The article was entitled 'Half a victory, but a victory all the same'. Teixeira's influence in the Federal Council of Education was felt in all aspects of the council's work, but was especially noticeable in its efforts to increase educational funding. Such funding, always seen as a form of investment, would be combined with other planning instruments as ways of promoting the development of education.

In 1963, Teixeira provisionally replaced Darcy Ribeiro as Rector of the University of Brasilia (UnB). It was during his rectorship that President João Goulart was overthrown in the coup of 31 March 1964. These events led to Teixeira's inclusion in the proceedings opened to investigate alleged administrative irregularities in the university. Protests were organized against the new government's actions, and, in a show of solidarity, the University of California invited Teixeira to join their teaching staff. With a special authorization issued by the office of the President of the Republic, he obtained a passport for the United States, where he taught for almost two years. From that time onwards, Teixeira never assumed public office again and retired from his official professorship.

Teixeira returned to Brazil in 1966, where he became legal adviser to the Getúlio Vargas Foundation and the Companhia Editora Nacional publishing house in Rio de Janeiro, directing an education and social sciences collection. In 1967, he took part in a conference on The World Crisis in Education sponsored by the departments of education and health of several Brazilian states, as well as by the American Government, and by the University of Williamsburg in Virginia. In 1970, he received the title of Emeritus Professor from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro.

Anísio Teixeira influenced every aspect of education in Brazil; he participated in the preparation of countless bills and government acts, and represented Brazil at international events, always in defence of public, democratic education. He lectured in several Asian and American countries, he initiated university exchange programmes, and reformed the educational programme of the Organization of American States. His presence at UNESCO was significant. On his friends' insistence, he applied for admission to the Brazilian Academy of Letters (ABL), but fate intervened. After giving a lecture at the Getúlio Vargas Foundation, he went to visit a friend's flat in an apartment building. Teixeira inexplicably fell down the elevator shaft on 11 March 1971. His body was found three days later. He was buried in Rio de Janeiro,

with numerous tributes. In July 1973, the Ministry of Education posthumously awarded him the National Order of Educational Merit.

Despite the disputes surrounding him, Anísio Teixeira's intense and lengthy work is aimed at the construction of a democratic society, less and less unequal, thanks to social mobility facilitated by open, active school education. In a country with a historically hierarchical social structure, subject to discrimination and prejudice derived from a slave-owning society, the struggle for effective civil and social rights continues to be controversial and requires courage. In education, Teixeira saw a non-violent path, both to political democracy and to the dismantling of social privileges. Without education, the majority of the people would remain not only prisoners of ignorance but also victims of archaic, anti-democratic structures. Hence the defence of civil rights as a peaceful way to guarantee the equal status of all as regards both opportunity and the law. Where conflicts arise in civil society, these conflicts can be resolved through the democratic procedures. Teixeira, however, did not view the realization of equal opportunity and equality before the law as a simply natural occurrence. In his view, the backwardness derived from ignorance and historic circumstances could not be tolerated by a country so full of potential. The state had to intervene in education in order to allow free interaction among equals, and to prevent the perpetuation of privileges and ignorance. It was up to organized society to pressure the State to adopt democratic procedures.

According to Teixeira, the State, especially in the case of Brazil, would need to decentralize power in order to adapt education to local communities, while remaining an essentially public institution. It should be pointed out, however, that a defence of regionalism was not part of Teixeira's intentions. The recognition of local rights should not be confused with narrowness of thinking. Thus, Teixeira supported the use of international resources in order to train teachers and researchers, who, on their return to the country, would raise the standard of science, research and university teaching. The university, in turn, would become integrated with the lower levels of education in order to offer pedagogic tools for the training of teachers. Closely tied to the lives of their students, teachers would be prepared to reform the school by active and dynamic methods.

Being sensitive to civil rights, and with his great breadth of vision, Teixeira was not opposed to religion. He merely saw it within the school as a force that tended to reinforce the sort of particularism that he wanted to avoid. In addition, he never opposed the existence of private schools. For him, their real role had to be understood within the existence of a comprehensive, qualified public education system. Convinced that the State must play a part in amending archaic structures, Teixeira saw planning as a way of accelerating reforms and avoiding the regional fragmentation of education in Brazil.

The centenary of Anísio Teixeira's birth should be an occasion for a commemoration that reminds us of the challenges of Teixeira's own life and one that thereby challenges us. Many of the advances achieved in education in Brazil are due to men such as Anísio Teixeira, who dared to relate democratic equality to modernity and science.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Works by Anísio Teixeira

(In chronological order)

1934. *Educação progressiva: uma introdução à filosofia da educação* [Progressive education: an introduction to the philosophy of education]. São Paulo, Cia Editora Nacional. (Col. B.P.B., *Atualidades pedagógicas*, série 3, vol. 3.)

1952. *A pedagogia de Dewey: esboço da teoria de educação de John Dewey* [The pedagogy of John Dewey: outline of the educational theory of John Dewey]. *In: Vida e educação*, trans. by Anísio Teixeira. São Paulo, Edições Melhoramentos, p. 1–31 (Biblioteca de Educação, vol. 13.)

1953. *Educação para a democracia* [Education for democracy], 2nd ed. São Paulo, Cia Editora Nacional.

1957. *Educação não é privilégio* [Education is not a privilege]. Rio de Janeiro, Livraria José Olympio Editora.

1960. *A comparison between higher education in the United States of America and in Brazil.* Rio de Janeiro, Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais. (Mimeographed lecture.)

1960. *A presentação de: Uma nova era em educação* [Presentation of: A new era in education], by I.D. Kandel, trans. by Clotilde da Silva Costa. Rio de Janeiro, Editora Fundo de Cultura.

1960. *Critica ao capítulo sobre o pragmatismo do livro de Gustavo Lessa: Em busca da claridade* [Critique of the chapter on pragmatism in Gustavo Lassa's book: In search of clarity]. Rio de Janeiro, Editora Fundo de Cultura.

n.d. A educação no Brasil [*Education in Brazil*]. *In: O tempo e o modo do Brasil.* Lisboa, Morais Editora, p. 74–81.

1968. *Educação é um direito* [Education is a right]. São Paulo, Cia Editora Nacional. (Biblioteca de Educação, Ciência e Cultura, 7.)

1968. *Pequena introdução à filosofia da educação: a escola progressiva ou a transformação da escola.* [Short introduction to the philosophy of education: progressive schooling or the transformation of the school]. São Paulo, Cia Editora Nacional. (Biblioteca de Educação, Ciência e Cultura 3.)

1969. *Educação e o mundo moderno* [Education and the modern world]. São Paulo, Cia Editora Nacional.

1969. *Educação no Brasil* [Education in Brazil]. São Paulo, Cia Editora Nacional.

1970. *Tradução de Liberalismo, liberdade e cultura de John Dewey* [Translation of John Dewey's Liberalism, liberty and culture]. São Paulo, Cia Editora Nacional.

1983. Valores proclamados e valores reais nas instituições escolares brasileiras [Proclaimed values and real values in Brazilian schools]. *In: Revista Brasileira de estudos pedagógicos* (Rio de Janeiro), no. 148.

Writings about Anísio Teixeira

Abreu, J. 1960. Anísio Teixeira e a educação na Bahia [Anísio Teixeira and education in Bahia]. *In: Anísio Teixeira: pensamento e ação.* Rio de Janeiro, Editora Civilização Brasileira. (See also: Rio de Janeiro, Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais, 1968.)

Azevedo, F. 1960. Anísio Teixeira ou a inteligência [Anísio Teixeira on intelligence]. *In: Anísio Teixeira: pensamento e ação,* op. cit. (See also: *Informativo.* Rio de Janeiro, Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1971.)

Lima, H. 1960. Anísio Teixeira. *In: Anísio Teixeira: pensamento e ação*, op. cit.
Ribeiro, D. 1960. Anísio Teixeira, pensador e homem de ação [Anísio Teixeira, thinker and man of action]. *In: Anísio Teixeira: pensamento e ação*, op. cit.

126

INDEX

Volume XXX, 2000

No. 1, 2000, p. 3–144
No. 2, 2000, p. 145–276
No. 3, 2000, p. 277–396
No. 4, 2000, p. 397–524

ADAMS, D.; MAYOR, F. The culture of peace: a programme of action, 3

ASTURIAS, L.; GRIGSBY, K.; OLTHETEN, T. Mayan participation in educational reform in Guatemala: changing the policy environment, 461

BARBOZA, N. Educating for a sustainable future: Africa in action, 71

BEN-PERETZ, M. When teaching changes, can teacher education be far behind?, 215

BHANDARI, B.; OBE, O.; FIEN, J. Towards education for a sustainable future in Asia and in the Pacific, 41

BORDIA, A. Education for gender equity: the Lok Jumbish experience, 313

BRAY, M. Financing higher education: patterns, trends and options, 331

BUCHERT, L. From project to programme to sector-wide support: some questions and concerns, 405

CALDWELL, B.J. Strategic intentions for professionals in world-class schools, 189

COMBONI SALINAS, S.; JUÁREZ NÚÑEZ, J.M. Education, culture and indigenous rights: the case of educational reform in Bolivia, 105

CURY, C.R. Anísio Teixeira (1900–71), 509

DARDOUR, M. The literacy campaign in rural Morocco: drawing some lessons, 125

DUFFY, T. Peace education in a divided society: creating a culture of peace in Northern Ireland, 15

EDWARDS, B. Educational reform and sustainable development in the Americas, 57

EISNER, E.W. Benjamin Bloom, 1913–99, 387

EL GAMMAL, H.M.; ISHAK, S.T. The sector approach and its implications for technical assistance: the Social Fund for Development, Egypt, 475

FIEN, J.; OBE, O.; BHANDARI, B. Towards education for a sustainable future in Asia and in the Pacific, 41

GOODSON, I.F. The principled professional, 181

GRIGSBY, K.; ASTURIAS, L.; OLTHETEN, T. Mayan participation in educational reform in Guatemala: changing the policy environment, 461

HALLAK, J. Educational policies and contents in developing countries, 277

HARGREAVES, A. Professionals and parents: personal adversaries or public allies, 201

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

HARGREAVES, A.; LO, L.N.K. The paradoxical profession: teaching at the turn of the century, 167

HESSELINK, F. Managing European learning processes towards sustainable development, 87

HEYNEMAN, S.P.; TODORIC-BEBIC, S. A renewed sense for the purposes of schooling: the challenges of education and social cohesion in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and Central Asia, 145

HOLDSWORTH, R. Schools that create real roles of value for young people, 349

IRVINE, J. South Asia and basic education: changing UNICEF's strategic perspectives on educational development and partnerships, 297

ISHAK, S.T.; EI GAMMAL, H.M. The sector approach and its implications for technical assistance: the Social Fund for Development, Egypt, 475

JAGANNATHAN, S.; KARIKORPI, M. EC-India collaboration in primary education: sector-wide approaches to development co-operation, 409

JUÁREZ NÚÑEZ, J.M.; COMBONI SALINAS, S. Education, culture and indigenous rights: the case of educational reform in Bolivia, 105

KARIKORPI, M.; JAGANNATHAN, S. EC-India collaboration approaches in primary education: sector-wide approaches to development co-operation, 409

KAWAGUCHI, A. The rights of the child and education in Japan in the light of the United Nations Convention, 497

LIEBERMAN, A.; MCLAUGHLIN, M. Professional development in the United States: policies and practices, 225

LIND, A.; MCNAB, C. Sector-wide approach to education: views from Sida, 423

LO, L.N.K. Educational reform and teacher development in Hong Kong and on the Chinese Mainland, 237

LO, L.N.K.; HARGREAVES, A. The paradoxical profession: teaching at the turn of the century, 167

LÓPEZ-OSPINA, G. Education for sustainable development: a local and international challenge, 31

MACLEAN, R.; ORDOÑEZ, V. Some current issues, concerns and prospects, 289

MALHOTRA, K. Educational priorities and challenges in the context of globalization, 363

MATSUURA, K. Is the globalization of the economy creating values for a new civilization?, 399

MAYOR, F.; ADAMS, D. The culture of peace: a programme of action, 3

MCGINN, N.F. An assessment of new modalities in development assistance, 437

MCLAUGHLIN, M.; LIEBERMAN, A. Professional development in the United States: policies and practices, 225

MCNAB, C.; LIND, A. Sector-wide approach to education: views from Sida, 423

NWAKA, G.I. Higher education, the social sciences and national development in Nigeria, 373

OBE, O.; FIEN, J.; BHANDARI, B. Towards education for a sustainable future in Asia and in the Pacific, 41

OLTHETEN, T. GRIGSBY, K.; ASTURIAS, L. Mayan participation in educational reform in Guatemala: changing the policy environment, 461

128

ORDOÑEZ, V.; MACLEAN, R. Some current issues, concerns and prospects, 289
OSTTVEIT, S. Ten years after Jomtien, 97
SAGASTIZABAL, Á. Different at school: discrimination and a monitoring system to forestall it, 487
SEDERE, U. Sector support approach to financing basic education: lessons from Bangladesh, 451
TODORIC-BEBIC, S.; HEYNEMAN, S.P. A renewed sense for the purposes of schooling: the challenges of education and social cohesion in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and Central Asia, 145
TORRES, R.M. From agents of reform to subjects of change: the teaching crossroads in Latin America, 255

129

To place your subscription to

PROSPECTS:

the quarterly review of comparative education

Complete the order form below and send it by fax or post to:
Jean De Lannoy, UNESCO Subscriptions Service, Avenue du Roi, 202, 1190 Brussels, Belgium.
Tel.: (32) 2-538.43.08. Fax: (32) 2-538.08.41. E-mail: jean.de.lannoy@infoboard.be
Internet: http://www.jean-de-lannoy.be

YES, I would like to subscribe to *Prospects, UNESCO's quarterly review of comparative education.*

Language edition:
❑ English edition ❑ French edition ❑ Spanish edition

Annual subscription rates:
❑ Individuals or institutions in developed countries, **180 French francs** (single issue: 60FF)
❑ Individuals or institutions in developing countries, **100 French francs** (single issue: 35FF)

I enclose payment in the form of:
❑ a cheque in French francs, drawn on a bank with branches in France, made out to 'DE LANNOY—UNESCO Subscriptions'
❑ Visa/Eurocard/Mastercard/Diners/American Express credit card:

No.: ..... Expiry date: .....

❑ UNESCO coupons

Name:

.....

Address:

.....

.....

(Please type or print clearly)

Signature: ..... Date: .....

Further information and enquiries about other language versions of *Prospects*:
International Bureau of Education, PUB, P.O. Box 199, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland.
E-mail: j.fox@ibe.unesco.org; Internet: http://www.ibe.unesco.org

Further information on UNESCO publications from: UNESCO Publishing, 1, rue Miollis, 75732 Paris Cedex 15, France. Tel.: (33) 1-45.68.10.00; Fax: (33) 1-45.68.57.41;
Internet: http://www.unesco.org/publishing

PROSPECTS CORRESPONDENTS

ARGENTINA
Mr Daniel Filmus
Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO)

AUSTRALIA
Professor Phillip Hughes
Australian National University, Canberra

AUSTRALIA
Dr Phillip Jones
University of Sydney

BELGIUM
Professor Gilbert De Landsheere
University of Liège

BOLIVIA
Mr Luis Enrique López
Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe para la Región Andina, Cochabamba

BOTSWANA
Ms Lydia Nyati-Ramahobo
University of Botswana

BRAZIL
Mr Jorge Werthein
UNESCO Brasília Office

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC
Mr Abel Koulaninga
Secretary-General of the Central African National Commission for UNESCO

CHILE
Mr Ernesto Schiefelbein
Universidad Santo Tomás

CHINA
Dr Zhou Nanzhao
China National Institute for Educational Research

COLOMBIA
Mr Rodrigo Parra Sandoval
Fundación FES

COSTA RICA
Mrs Yolanda Rojas
University of Costa Rica

EGYPT
Professor Dr Abdel-Fattah Galal
Institute of Educational Research and Studies, Cairo University

FRANCE
Mr Gérard Wormser
Centre national de documentation pédagogique

GERMANY
Professor Wolfgang Mitter
Deutsches Institut für internationale pädagogische Forschung

HUNGARY
Dr Tamas Kozma
Hungarian Institute for Educational Research

JAPAN
Professor Akihiro Chiba
International Christian University

MALTA
Dr Ronald Sultana
Faculty of Education, University of Malta

MEXICO
Dr María de Ibarrola
Patronato del Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación para la Cultura del Maestro Mexicano A.C.

POLAND
Professor Andrzej Janowski
Polish Commission for UNESCO

SPAIN
Mr Alejandro Tiana Ferrer
Faculty of Education, University of Madrid

SWEDEN
Professor Torsten Husén
Stockholm University

SWITZERLAND
Mr Michel Carton
Graduate Institute of Development Studies

THAILAND
Mr Vichai Tunsiri
Standing Committee on Education, House of Representatives

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Mr Wadi Haddad
Knowledge Enterprise Inc.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

VIEWPOINT/CONTROVERSY

Is the globalization of the economy creating values for a new civilization? *Koïchiro Matsuura*

OPEN FILE: RETHINKING EDUCATIONAL AID

From project to programme to sector-wide support: some questions and concerns *Lene Buchert*

EC–India collaboration in primary education: sector-wide approaches to development co-operation *Shanti Jagannathan and Mervi Karikorpi*

Sector-wide approach to education: views from Sida *Agneta Lind and Christine McNab*

An assessment of new modalities in development assistance *Noel F. McGinn*

Sector support approach to financing basic education: lessons from Bangladesh *Upali Sedere*

Mayan participation in educational reform in Guatemala: changing the policy environment *Linda Asturias, Katherine Grigsby and Theo Oltheten*

The sector approach and its implications for technical assistance: the Social Fund for Development, Egypt *Samir T. IsHak and Hussein M. El Gammal*

TRENDS/CASES

'Different' at school: discrimination and a monitoring system to forestall it *Ángeles Sagastizabal*

The rights of the child and education in Japan in the light of the United Nations Convention *Akiyoshi Kawaguchi*

PROFILES OF FAMOUS EDUCATORS

Anísio Teixeira (1900–71) *Carlos Roberto Cury*

Index to volume XXX, 2000

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ISSN 0033-1538

Vol. XXX, no. 4, December 2000